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## THE AUTHORITY OF JESUS AND ITS MEANING FOR THE MODERN MIND:

A STUDY IN THE PSYCHOLOGY OF JESUS

BY F. T. MAYER-OAKES, M. A., PH. D.

*Fellow in Clark University.*

"He not only claims authority for himself, he denies the authority of the constituted authorities to judge his claims. The question of authority in the Kingdom of God is a question of fitness, the ability to do the thing."

"Men felt in his first words the note of authority."

"He was the Son of Man, whose life was bound up with the life of the world, who was identified with Humanity."

"His own righteousness was the foundation of his authority."

"He was a Man who loved men supremely, to whom any evil or lack was known so surely and felt so deeply, and to whom in his own death was revealed the whole depth and bitterness of that human ill which was to find its only cure in him." (E. P. Gould, in his St. Mark.)

"Religion, after all, must be judged in connection with its applicability to man." (M. Jastrow, Jr.)

"For he taught them as one having authority, and not as the Scribes." (St. Mark.)

All life is useless, and no life possesses any value unless it is moved by a motive force and a directive factor different from itself and above itself, which in all its efforts attempts activities higher than itself and of better quality. This is the paradox of life brought to us through the Man who lived in and loved the hill

country of his birth, in whom the world has seen not only pure living, but the truly human life, the culmination of the evolutionary ideal of human life. And such a paradox is more or less clearly hinted at by Dr. Greville MacDonald in his "The Religious Sense in Its Scientific Aspect,"<sup>1</sup> in his lecture on the "The Religion of Service." The modern doctrine of evolution, as applied by many teachers of psychology and biology, very readily lends itself to the support of this view of life. The deeper and greater knowledge of biology and psychology, supported by the evidences of paleontology, affords a basis for a doctrine of life built on this paradox. The *Amœba* must become extinct if it have not the capacity to realize the evolutionary purpose of life by producing something greater than itself in the act of rejuvenation. And in the seed life of other animalcules, the perpetuation of the species by fission is an example of the lowly forms of life realizing this instinctive purpose of the power of life.

There will yet come a time when the idea of this doctrine will be more universally accepted, and it will then become the greater law in ethics by which men will be measured and lined up. The religious institutions of the day will be drawn into the vortex of such a movement and they will become more Christo-centric and less ecclesia-centric. While it is recognized that the life that is continued without a purpose can amount to very little, it will be more widely recognized that such purposeless lives can be transformed and made into passionately purposeful lives in which the great master passion of the soul will be to enter into the secrets of knowledge intensely human on the one hand, and supremely divine on the other — then shall the divine purpose be made known and the dealings of the human heart understood; then shall such be recognized as they who speak with authority and power; their lives are lived in an atmosphere which is authoritative because it is powerful; their hearers and listeners confessing that they speak with authority and with power, and not in the cold, monotonous tones of the mere professional religionist. It will not, I think, be impertinent, at this point, to remark that if the biography of the late Mrs. Palmer

<sup>1</sup>G. Macdonald: 'The Religious Sense in Its Scientific Aspect.' London, 1903. pp. 3-77.



so appreciatingly and truly recorded by her husband, has any distinct message to the present day, it lies in the fact of the power that this simple and great woman wielded over all alike because of her living in the midst of a set of circumstances made to minister to her highest, and of this best in her own sweet life, she gave unstintingly to all whom she could thus lift up from a lower to a higher level. Then, too, the sacred narrative gives us the picture of its central figure as being eaten up in a holy passion and purpose to accomplish the divine will and meet the truest and deepest needs of the soul of man. This sanctified passion clarified his vision and quickened his own heart and prepared him to understand the two great elements that go into the making of the truest human life, viz., the divine and the human. It was because he understood this double fact so perfectly that he lived so powerfully and effectually among those few who were peculiarly his own, and were to be the early foundation of the great superstructure that was to be built on the residue of his life: yes, even so powerfully among his fellow countrymen that they felt in his words the note of unapologetic authority.<sup>1</sup>

Fortunately or unfortunately the picture and conception of Jesus in art and literature is, and has been one that is far from being satisfactory to either the psychologist or the anthropologist. One great factor that must be reckoned with in any study of the psychology of Jesus is the fact that neither psychologists nor yet anthropologists will be satisfied with accepted portraits of him in art, or the conceptions of him in theology. This will mean that absolute reconstruction will have to take place in conceiving of Jesus, both physically and psychically. It is only a too regrettable fact that the sacred literature of the apostolic and sub-apostolic times is exceedingly poor in references either to his person or personality<sup>2</sup> and even the literature professing to give us his portraits

<sup>1</sup>E. P. Gould: *St. Mark, Inter. Crit. Comm.* Edin., and N. Y. 1897. Intro. p. xxxi.

<sup>2</sup>G. B. Foster: *The Finality of the Christian Religion*, Chicago, 1909, chap. 8, p. 325, where speaking on the Problem and Personality of Jesus, he dwells with a sarcastic touch, unnecessarily too, upon the scarcity of authentic, *i. e.*, original material in the sources of Jesus' life. This fact is, of course, recognized by all N. T. scholars, but it rests in peace until the work of the Archaeologist shall be fortunate to make a find of other material than we have at present in the canonical and extra-canonical literature.



affords scant material that would give the anthropologist any satisfaction in determining what kind of a man he was physically — while of course they (the Gospels and Epistles) abound in material that provides a field, hardly yet touched, by which the psychologist can get a view of his personality and determine with more or less accuracy and assurance the kind of a personality he had.

By *a priori* methods the anthropologist must satisfy himself that Jesus, considered merely as human, was much more a man than has been generally conceded; that he was a man of somewhat extraordinary physique as well as intellectual power—notwithstanding the biting sarcasm and the railing unreasonableness of M. Bene-Senglie in his “La Folie de Jésus.”

In acquainting ourselves with those people who have been leaders—both in historical and contemporary times, we find them to have been and to be men of usually commanding stature and appearance, so as to be at once both attractive and commanding, pleasant and confidence provoking; their face possessing a more or less fascinating countenance; and their activities commensurate with their purposes and passionating ideal. In a book of singular worth and felicity, treating of a theme of perennial interest to those who would accomplish something in their life, and a book that will be referred to again, Bishop C. H. Brent, of the Philippines, in describing a leader, says: The ease with which he leads is largely dependent upon the difference in stature and in the power of the vision between himself and the crowd. . . . He may not have conspicuous talent or high genius, but he seeks out their undeveloped capacity and makes it hungry for self-expression; he is the essential force that focuses in a common purpose their energies:—he becomes to them what motive is to personality, in fact he gives to the masses coherence, vivid and individual, a genuine personality. . . . The essential contrast between a demagogue and a leader is that in a demagogue we have a case of arrested development, and an imperfect vision—while in the leader we have a constantly developing personality in reaching a clearly outlined goal.<sup>1</sup> And Professor Francis G. Peabody suggests that “it would be of extraordinary interest if we might (in the first place) picture to

<sup>1</sup>Cf. C. H. Brent: *Leadership*. N. Y., 1910, pp. 13-15, 17.



ourselves the external appearance and physical traits of Jesus. The simple record, however, offers practically no material for the reproduction of face or form. It is indeed reported, not without great suggestiveness, that the first impression of his teaching was for the moment created, not so much by its contents, striking as they were, as by the demeanor and personality of the teacher. 'He taught as one having authority,' is the first comment of the narrator.<sup>1</sup> We have no reason, whatever, for conceiving of Jesus as a puny, weak, or peculiarly feminine figure,<sup>2</sup> nor yet possessing a countenance so vague and ill defined as that shown in so many portraits—which lack expression of either sorrow or glory, of conquest or defeat. Rather, I think, we should be more justified in conceiving of him as a man who walked the hill and dales, the streets and lanes, and visited the synagogues and the temple *as one who was deeply conscious of the supreme mission of God in him*. "He lived and had his being in sacred writings, but not after the manner of the professional teachers. . . . He lived in religion," continues this author, "and it was breath to him in the fear of God," and he lived in the consciousness of God's presence. His food and drink was to do God's will.<sup>3</sup> So that in him we find a man who knew his relation with the Infinite Spirit beyond doubt, and who accounted for his own place in the cosmos of beings as being "created a little lower than the angels, crowned with glory and honor," who walked and talked, lived and wrought, and died as one conscious of his royalty with the great I AM, and to whom the world was his rightful estate and his work the effort to bring all men into touch with their heavenly Father and into their own rightful inheritance and

<sup>1</sup>F. G. Peabody: *Jesus Christ and the Christian Character*. N. Y., 1905, p. 40-41.

<sup>2</sup>In the light of renewed anthropological studies being carried on at the present day, it is interesting to note that many are following the line of H. Ellis, who holds that, if the child approximates the evolutionary ideal for the Race, and woman approximates the child more than man, the postulate that the feminine type is more nearly the evolutionary type, then there is some ground of justification on the part of those who have conceived of Jesus as that peculiarly sweet mixture of masculine, feminine, and childlikeness in their portraiture of this character. Cf. Havelock Ellis', *Man and Woman*. London, 1904.

<sup>3</sup>A. Harnack: *What is Christianity?* Trans, N. Y., pp. 32, 34-35, 36, 38.



estate. He lived and wrought manifesting the ever deepening truth that willed action is the language of noble men, and that strong men are free—free because they are strong, and strong because they are free. Never, I think, have we an account in pre-Christian literature conserved to us of any man such as is given to us in the brief and terse sentences in two places. "This Man speaketh with authority, and not as the scribes" . . . at least not in the importance of its bearing on the problem of personality as is shown in this instance of the spontaneous outburst of Jesus' lowly (?) contemporaries. Truly Professor E. P. Gould remarks "Men felt in his first words the note of authority"<sup>1</sup> No one can read the Gospels, our only present sources, outside the incidental references in some of the Pauline Epistles, for an authoritative life of Jesus, without feeling that this confession of authority is pre-eminently true in the realm of the moral, *i. e.*, ethical, and spiritual life of the race; and it would be true and the only conclusion that we could arrive at aside from the evangelical statement. *Jesus lived, lived among the people whom he touched at all points, and touching them healed them and helped them.* Because he had done this, for them his authority was sealed and certified. The woman, of whom we read as having an issue of blood, came to touch his garment, being assured that even such an act on her part, in him, would prove efficacious, and restorative to her. Not only did the woman prove his power, which was the equivalent of his authority, but we are told that Jesus was conscious himself of power having gone out of him to her, the touch brought relief to her,—ἐξ αὐτοῦ δύναμιν ἐξελθοῦσιν ἐπιστράφεις ἐν τῷ ὄχλῳ, and from him went power—the seal of his authority for her and those who had witnessed the act.

My aim in this paper, is to analyze this character in reference only to this aspect of the man of Galilee, leaving all attempts at theologizing alone, nor yet attempting anything of a description of his teachings in the sense of formulating a theology of the New Testament; and then, in brief synthesis indicate its meaning and significance for the modern mind. We must not forget, however, in this consideration that we are dealing primarily with the ethical significance rather than metaphysical or epistemological—from

<sup>1</sup>E. P. Gould: *op. cit.*, *in loco*.



each of which fields we may draw our illustrations if needed. "The whole earthly career of Jesus Christ was the incorporation of his teaching in life and action. His ethical principles constitute a coherent whole, but they are not a cunningly devised system put together by reflection. They are a series of genial intuitions, that flow spontaneously from a living personality whose meaning and the secret of whose influence they do not exhaust. As we study them, these ethical or spiritual intuitions lead us back to him, and indeed, they seem but the causal utterances of a spirit so infinitely rich and full that we cannot comprehend it in the mystery of its strength and beauty, but that we grow more fully as we endeavor to live out the promptings. Hence the *living* and perennial power of Jesus as an ethical teacher. Many philosophical systems of ethics seem to be more rigorous and systematically complete than his; but, perhaps, in part, for this very reason they one and all lack the touch of life and the power of expansion."<sup>1</sup> "The moral foundations of civilization find their highest interpretation and illumination, as well as, motive power, in the teachings and work of Jesus and in the moral life that has historically issued from his life."<sup>2</sup>

### *1 The Reason of His Authority.*

When we try to analyze what is really involved in the confession of Jesus' contemporaries which attributes to him this authority in the realm of morals and chiefly the spiritual, in order to determine such an attribute, it seems to me that we cannot find it in any other way than the impression given us from reading the Gospels that give us the human picture of Jesus, as he walked and talked with men and women.

(a) The Jews, at this time, present us with a specific instance of an aggregate of souls searching for a new interpretation of life in reference both to its first great cause and its ultimate meaning, then to God, their Jehovah Jah—an interpretation at once different from and more vital than that given by the professional religious

<sup>1</sup>Leighton, J. A.: *Jesus Christ and the Civilization of To-day*. N. Y., 1907, p. 166.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, *in loco*, p. 175.



teachers of his day, for they spoke only with authority that came from tradition. "The scribes spake BY authority, resting all they said on traditions of what had been said before. Jesus spake WITH authority, out of his own soul, with direct intuition of the truth; and, therefore, to the answering soul of his hearers. The people could not quite explain the difference, but that was what they obscurely felt."<sup>1</sup> In other words they were a really soul hungry people, dying for a revival of the enthusiasms which came from the early national theocratic ideal of their forefathers, and all these professional teachers—the scribes and the Pharisees, miserably failed to speak to them in the terms of the soul's need, until Jesus came and proclaimed his ministry of repentance and faith: and we find him at all times speaking in the terms of the soul's needs. "Jesus spake *with authority in the matters of conduct and life*, but the authority is not the external constraint of an institution or an organization, nor the dogmatism of a cut-and-dried system that chills the spirit and fetters the reason. His moral authority is that of a perfect life, which, as we submit to its influences, arouses an answering witness in our hearts and wins our consent with the personal conviction that in the company of this life our own personalities are coming to their own, are ever growing in harmony and peace, and in the fellowship of the life divine and immortal: the life in which man truly finds himself at home in the cosmos because his soul has broken its local and temporary fetters and through entrance upon a new humanity, is become one with God."<sup>2</sup>

It is not necessarily the keen logic used by Darwin in his "Origin of Species" and in his "Descent of Man" that convinces the man of less intellectual and scientific ability, with less patience and perseverance in waiting on nature, that the conclusions that he—Darwin—reaches is right, but rather the fact that by patiently waiting on nature, he learned to perceive her subtle workings, which, to less observing minds were unnoticeable; and somehow he had come to be pretty well saturated with the sweetness of such

<sup>1</sup>A. B. Bruce: St. Matt. Expositors Greek Testament. London, 1903, Vol. 1., p. 136.

<sup>2</sup>P. T. Forsyth: The Person and Place of Jesus Christ. Boston, 1909, p. 177.



laws and in them found his joy and delight.... And when he spoke to others his interpretations and illustrations of their workings out in the life of the animal and plant world, they accepted the generality of the truths of such a message. It appealed to us in our desire to arrive at an understanding of the origin of things and the laws of development and growth from the simple to the complex in organic life; they filled the demand made by our intellect and satisfied our reason. In such a manner, somehow, because Jesus had waited patiently and listened intently to the pulsating needs of the human heart and the divine desire, and after he had arrived at the unshakable convictions, born of experience rich and varied doubtless, at the time that he began his public ministry: when he uttered his first words on returning to the people after his forty days fasting solitude and sojourn in the wilderness, they listened to him and heard him because his voice was the sound for which their souls had been patiently listening above the false sounds of the commands of a mechanical morality and a stereotyped religion of the professional religionists of their day, which consisted in the barest externals of life, so justly derogated by Christ at a later period in his ministry. It was a voice which aroused in their hearts an answering witness and which almost instantly won their consent with the personal conviction that in the company of this life their own would grow into harmony and peace with God and their souls find rest in Him, because being one with Him. When Jesus came forth from his wilderness sojourn and trial, it is said of him that "from that time forth began Jesus to preach and say Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand," and they seemed to be instinctively satisfied that indeed a "greater one had come" and they heard him. If we read the account of Jesus' life and doings according to the Petrine tradition preserved to us in the Gospel of Mark, we cannot help but see in all his intense activities, where we see him so largely as a master over the laws of disease—that the common people, unsophisticated in intellect, simple in faith but nevertheless intense in their hunger for the best mode of moral living, saw back of the mastery of Jesus over the merely physical and read into his actions and abilities the power of helping them correct their soul's diseases. In the first chapter of this record we read that at the close of a strenuous day on Jesus' part the people came to him and brought



those who were *κακῶς ἔχοντας καὶ τοὺς δαιμονιζομένους* and he healed them *καὶ ἐθέραπευσεν*. Here we are led to believe (without going into points of textual criticism or technical exegesis) that it was not the diseases of the flesh merely *οἱ νόσοι τῆς σαρκῆς*, but went back of the physical or the bodily infirmity, and typified weakness of the soul (*κακῶς κ. τ. δαιμονιζομένους* as contrasted with *ἀσθενῆς*). And this view is sustained in the following expressive stanzas, which have voiced the hearty sentiments of many modern Christians.

“At even, e’er the sun was set  
The sick, O Lord, around Thee lay:  
O in what divers pains they met!  
O with what joy they went away!

Once more ’t is eventide, and we  
Oppressed with various ills draw near.  
What if Thy form we cannot see,  
We know and feel that Thou art near.

O Saviour Christ! Thou too art man:  
Thou hast been troubled, tempted, tried:  
Thy kind but searching glance can scan  
The very wounds that shame would hide.

Thy touch has still its ancient power;  
No word from Thee can fruitless fall;  
Hear in this solemn evening hour,  
And in Thy mercy heal us all.”

Jesus recognized the need of the soul of man in its intense and oftentimes agonized longing for freedom from the tyranny of the ceremonial and keeping the external of life clean when the inside was a stagnant, foul, and putrefying mass; he too recognized their holy aspiration towards God if perchance He could be brought to their consciousness as one more nigh and intimate than a mere Master Mechanic and correct His faulty work as shown in their own moral and spiritual weakness.

We find that all of Jesus’ activities are stamped with unmistakable signs and tokens of his conscious ability to meet this need; and it is in the acknowledgment of this fact that he brought the remedy for their need that we find an added reason for the total reasonableness for his authority in the realm of life and action.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Harnack, *op. cit.*, p. 60. “He feels the power of the Saviour within him. He knows that progress is possible only by overcoming weakness and healing

"What enables men to recognize Jesus as what he is, and so to acknowledge his authority, is a need in their nature or state which he can supply. It is to see in him the living bread, the living water, the light of the world, and the Giver of life. These are ideas or experiences which are relative to universal human needs, and therefore universally intelligible; every one who knows what it is to be hungry, thirsty, forlorn, in the dark, dead, knows how to appreciate Jesus; and apart from these experiences no cleverness in applying prophetic or other theological signs to him is of any value. All this is strictly relevant, for it is through experiences in which we become debtors to Jesus for meat and drink, for light and life, that we become conscious of his authority.'"<sup>1</sup> He called men to him with the promise that they likewise, under his care and instruction, should go out into the world of life and call others to him and to peace with God, even as they had been called to fellowship with him and peace with God and renewed heart-life.

It seems to me to be a very significant thing that in the logic of the late Cardinal Newman we have a very similar line of approach to a philosophy of life and God that Jesus had, but with this difference, that with Jesus, the line was perceived intuitively, while with Newman it was reached by the cold avenues of unaided (?) reason. Newman always came back to the wayward and suffering humanity. Jesus never left his hand off the parts of human experience. He saw that men were actuated in life largely by the *incubus*, *fear*—the working of the not-self upon the self. He recognized this not-self as God. But on every hand he saw signs of the incompatibilities, calamities, sickness, suffering, poverty. And he found the way of escape in his own person. Unlike the intellectual enquiry of Newman, because he had no need for such processes, he transcended them so far intuitively yet perfectly. The natural intellect of the natural man runs amuck and breaks down in trying to find this way of escape. And when once it has run amuck, it is like a mad dog—it dies or must be shot. It is notable that the

disease—yet he goes farther. Not only is it by his healing, but above and beyond all, by his forgiving men's sins, that the Kingdom of God comes."

<sup>1</sup>J. Denny: *Authority of Jesus*, *Hasting's Dict. Ch. and G. Edin*, 1907, Vol. 1, p. 151a 2 b.



greatest intellect in English thought in the eighteenth century, Dean Swift, came to an untimely end; and Frederick Nietzsche died in early life bereft of reason. It would seem as though Jesus recognized the liability of such happenings and straightway brought in the way of escape by the way of heaven, *i. e.*, by revelation, and such revelation was the fact of the nearness of the kingdom of God<sup>1</sup> which their souls were to find rest in. Newman, likewise, by his logic of escape<sup>2</sup> found such escape by way of the Church of Rome, and through the medium of Christ's vicar-general—the Pope.

Humanity everywhere is one and Jesus' message assumed the ability to suit the real need of humanity—clime, color, and tongue everywhere under the heavens; his revelation, therefore, was a universal one, and this was his way of escape for the suffering, sorrowing humanity. He taught men how to believe and be convinced of the truth that things will be righted in heaven; and earthly yoking with God's purposes would lighten their way—give strength for the needy hour—joy for the sadness and the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness. In a careful analysis Harnack says "Christianity is an example of a great power valid not for one particular epoch alone. . . . It is a question of LIFE, again and again kindled afresh and now burning with a flame of its own. . . . It would seem as though Christ was convinced that the truth he was speaking concerning God and Man, would in the ages to come, have a greater density and deeper meaning than was possible in his own day. And so it was. He trusted its spirit to lead its followers from one point of light to another and develop greater forces in individual lives. . . . Individual religious life was what he wanted to kindle and what he did kindle; it is, as we shall see, his peculiar greatness to have led men to God, so that they may thenceforth live their own life in Him."<sup>3</sup>

In speaking of Jesus, the *Essence of the Christian Religion*,<sup>4</sup> Professor George B. Foster remarks that "a religion for the whole

<sup>1</sup>*Cf.* The Divinity of Jesus, by Authors of Progressive Orthodoxy. Boston, 1893, pp. 137 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup>*Cf.* J. H. Newman, *Apologia pro Vita Sua*. London, 1897.

<sup>3</sup>A. Harnack: *What is Christianity?* N. Y., pp. 10-11.

<sup>4</sup>G. B. Foster: *The Finality of the Christian Religion*. Chicago, 1909.

world must be made by the whole world, just as it is true that the individual recapitulates the race, he must make it, or embody it in himself." Whether it is true or not that "to awaken faith, to supply certainty to an awakened faith" is the end of the evangelists, it remains true that authority was claimed for him, Jesus, before the evangelists were thought of. And it is true that Jesus came to his people to awaken faith and supply certainty for the awakened faith, and that certainty was found in their new view of God and heaven and their relation to Him and it. The content of religious faith is NOT exposed to any peril from historical criticism. "Nothing concerning Jesus," continues Foster "of which critical inquiry can make us uncertain is the object of religious faith. The spirit and ideals and forces and values of Jesus' life are what make him to speak with and be an authority to all who came under his influence." In the human Jesus we have an expression of God (Heb. 1:1-11). In Jesus, God has come nearer to humanity than ever before. He has touched it in him, and in him we can feel the pulsating throb of the heart of God. In speaking of Christianity, one writer has characteristically described it as being "eternal life in the midst of time, by the strength and under the eyes of God. It is no ethical or social arcanum for the preservation or improvement of things generally. . . ." it is a religion which "does not exist for itself alone, but lives in an inner fellowship with all the activities of the mind and with moral and economical conditions as well."<sup>1</sup> It was this vital force that Jesus came to put into the life of men, touching them in the total fabric of their life, and this product of his coming constitutes the corollary of his life.

(b) In this religion Jesus brought the answer to the needs of man's heart, by bringing them into this way of escape which he would attribute to the not-self-(God) as being greater and far more transcending in the compassion which the self (his own limited individuality) could have for the race—or the way of escape that he in his limitations could plan. The surcease of all their sufferings was to be gained in the entrance into the heavenly kingdom here and now—for this end did Jesus come forth preaching its nearness—even at hand (*ἤγγικεν*) as the narrator expresses it in Jesus'

<sup>1</sup>A. Harnack: *op. cit.*, p. 8.



speech (Mk. 1:15). In speaking of Jesus, Harnack says that "Jesus Christ calls to every poor soul; he calls to every one who bears a human face; you are children of the living God and not only better than so many sparrows, but of more value than the whole world."<sup>1</sup> The secret of their peace and rest was in being brought into touch with the life-giving and energizing spirit of the great I AM—Jehovah who made the earth, and the heavens also are His; and as for the world and the fullness thereof He made it. Jesus then professed that through him, as the mouthpiece of God, he was the way, the truth, and the life. And the need of the soul of Man was fully met in the universality of Jesus' conception of God and Man. And "Jesus Christ was the first to bring the value of every soul to light, and what he did no one can ever undo. We may take up what relation to him we will: in the history of the past we can refuse to recognize that it was he who raised humanity to its present level. . . . In the combination of these ideas—God the Father, the position of men as God's children, the infinite value of the human soul—the whole Gospel is expressed. . . . In proclaiming the fact that we are God's children as at once a gift and a task, he took firm grip of all the stumbling and stammering attempts at religion and brought them to their issue. Once more let it be said, we may assume what position we will in regard to him and his message, certain it is that thence onward the value of our race is enhanced; human lives nay, we ourselves, have become endeared to one another. A man may know it or not, but a real reverence for humanity follows from the practical recognition of God as the Father of us all."<sup>2</sup> The second essential in enquiring as to the reasonableness of Jesus' authority consists in the fact that, realizing the need of the race, and being conscious of his own relation to the Father, he was sure in his own soul that it could only be met in him. And he spoke with authority and power because he met this second essential demand of the human soul in searching out for its God. If then this is the reason of his authority what is the source from whence he derived it? It was in the inevitable working out of law—the Reason of his Authority is more readily seen when we begin to examine its source. It has

<sup>1</sup>A. Harnack: *op. cit.*, p. 67.

<sup>2</sup>Harnack: *op. cit.*, pp. 68, 70.

been well said by a French critic that "the Christian principle appears in its simple and naked form, in the form of feeling and of inspiration, expanded, in his Gospel. The Gospel in fact is merely the popular translation and the immediate application of the principles of piety of Jesus in the social milieu in which he lived. Everything springs from his filial consciousness as a natural and wonderful efflorescence. . . . We must place ourselves at this luminous centre if we would see the rest dart forth as rays. In it is found the inner living unity of his teaching and destination. He promulgates no law or dogma; he founds no official institution. His intention is quite different; he wishes, before everything else, to awaken the moral life, to rouse the soul from its inertia, to break its chains, to lighten its burdens, to make it active, free, and fruitful. He regards his work as finished when he has communicated his life, his piety, to a few poor consciousnesses that he found asleep and dead. Never man spake like this man, because never had man less concern about what we call orthodoxy—that is about abstract and accurate formulas. He prefers the language of the people to the language of the schools; he makes use of images, parables, paradoxes, of current and traditional ideas, of every form of expression which taken literally is the most inadequate in the world, but which, on the other hand, is the most living and stimulating. . .

. . . Jesus wished to force his hearers to interpret his words, because he called them to an inward, personal autonomous activity, because he wished to put an end to the religion of the letter and rites, and to found religion of the spirit. Even now, he that does not give himself to this labor of interpretation and assimilation in reading the Gospel—he who does not penetrate through the letter and the form to the inspiration and inmost consciousness of the Master—cannot understand or profit by his teaching. He who does not collaborate with him while listening to him, who does not pierce through the words to his soul, will come away empty. He only gives to those who have, or at least desire to have. He only leads the seeker to the truth. He only pardons those who repent, or comforts those who mourn, or fills the hungerers and thirsters after righteousness. . . . At peace with God, Jesus found himself at peace with the universe. The idea of nature, that formidable screen erected between ourselves and God, destroying hope and



quenching prayer, did not exist for him. Nature—that was the will of his Father. . . . He did not feel himself to be an orphan or an exile in the world; he conducted himself in it with ease and in serenity, not as a slave, but as a son in the house of his Father filled with His Presence. It is the Father that directs all things. . . . He never leaves us to ourselves. . . . His spirit vivifies and fortifies our own. . . . He is at the origin of our life and at the end; we are ever in the Father's hands."<sup>1</sup> In this unique relationship which Jesus sustains to the Eternal and Universal Father, we must look for the source of his authority.

## 2 *The Source of Jesus' Authority.*

President G. B. Cutten, in his "The Psychological Phenomena of Christianity,"<sup>2</sup> brings to our attention the fallacy of the early investigators in their attempt "to fathom the profound mysteries of religion by speculating concerning the Moulder and the metal" instead of by studying the most obvious medium—to wit, the mould through which the metal passes—*i. e.*, the human mind. And in the effort to fathom the same experience in a specific instance of Jesus in the consideration of his authority both historical and present day, we must find it in the mould—*i. e.*, the mind of Jesus. The principles of the procedure, applied to the genuine case of religion in human life, are admirably dealt with by Dr. Cutten in the work just cited. With deepest reverence of one who still calls him Lord, we must still recognize this method in determining the source of the authority of Jesus. And to come immediately to the place where we may find the source from whence the complex stream of authority runs, we can only find it in the idea of God.

The notion of the Ultimate Reality, or God, in life, is not only the supreme notion of the race; but one of the greatest practical importance to the life of man. While it used to be asserted that there had been found some people absolutely devoid and destitute of any idea of a supreme Being, as for instance was long believed to

<sup>1</sup>A. Sabatier: *Outlines of a Philosophy of Religion*. N. Y. 1902. pp. 151-152.

<sup>2</sup>George B. Cutten: *The Psychological Phenomena of Christianity*. New York, 1909.



be the case with the Andamanese; but the researches of Man among these primitive people have greatly disproved any such contentions, as being the product of careless observation;<sup>1</sup> and the late de Quatrefages, following Man, accepts the fact that they are a religious people<sup>2</sup> and such negative statements have been amply shown to be but the result either of total ignorance, superficial observation, or moral malice on the part of those making the reports.<sup>3</sup> Man has always been a religious animal since he learned the distinction between right and wrong, and begot the social consciousness. "Any man who thinks at all will recognize his dependence on some universal principle or being;" and while the conception thus apparently necessary to man, may differ concerning this fact of "dependence, in every instance man will feel his dependence on and vital relation of his life to this Ultimate Reality."<sup>4</sup> With ordinary man such a fact is the expression of the "ascent of the imperfect to the perfect, the flight of the changing and temporal to the unchanging and eternal, of the finite individual to the infinite and absolute. And this impulse God-ward, this search for the perfect, instinctive and primal though it be, is enlarged and refined of its grosser elements with the growth of human thought. Science and Philosophy do not banish it. They only transform it."<sup>5</sup>

The ideas of God that have permeated life most powerfully to the transformation of character and custom have come through the medium, both in utterance and in the deep of the great personalities which seem to have been veritable offshoots from the Infinite—bringing with them abundances of divine energy and divine resourcefulness to accomplish the redemption of life in the midst of whom they found themselves. In life and action, such mediators have profoundly *influenced the religious convictions of men and nations*. "And, in a supreme degree Jesus' personal life and attitude have been the source of the revolution he has wrought in men's

<sup>1</sup>E. H. Man: *The Andaman Islanders*. London, 1885.

<sup>2</sup>de Quatrefages: *The Pygmies*, trans. New York, 1895.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. D. G. Brinton: *Primitive Religions*. New York, 1898.

<sup>4</sup>Leighton: *op. cit.*, p. 139.

<sup>5</sup>Leighton: *op. cit.*, p. 140.

ideas concerning God and in their vital and active feelings and convictions in regard to Him . . . . Now it was (and it is) through his influence on the entire personality, on the heart and will of the individual man, that Jesus wrought his revolution in men's thought in regard to God's character and attitude toward Men.

"Jesus does not argue and does not demonstrate God's being. He gives no proofs, ontological, cosmological, or teleological, of God's existence. He assumes that there exists a Supreme Mind or Person, all-powerful, all-knowing, all-Holy. He assumed the supreme unity of truth and power in a divine Intelligence. He places first, as the supreme attribute of God, the governing principle in His relation to man!—LOVE that transcends, and uses as its instrument, omnipotence and omniscience, Love that passes beyond mere justice and righteousness, Love infinite in patience and forgiveness and eternal in well-doing, Jesus declared to be the heart of God. This is the unique and unparalleled contribution to the idea of God. This is his revolution in ethical theology. The doctrine of God which Jesus offers is absolutely ethical and spiritual."<sup>1</sup> It is not with any show of intellectual ability to deal with the problems of God and humanity, that Jesus came forth upon the activities of mature life. No, rather, he came into the midst of the experiences of the national life of the Jews<sup>2</sup> with the calm of absolute knowledge, and the problems fully solved so that he need only speak to the soul in the terms of its needs which was made possible because of the peculiar and significant background of his life. "Everything," says Harnack, "seems to pour from him naturally, as though it could not do otherwise, like a spring from the depths of the earth, clear and unchecked in its flow. Where shall we find the man who, at the age of thirty, can so speak if he has gone through bitter struggles—

<sup>1</sup>Leighton: *op. cit.*, pp. 150-151, *cf.* also "The Divinity of Jesus," by Authors of Progressive Orthodoxy, p. 140.

<sup>2</sup>H. Schulz: *Christian Apologetics*, trans. N. Y., 1907, pp. 208-209. "In such a race did Jesus appear, untouched by the follies of the schools, possessed in his deepest soul by the spirit of the prophetic religion of his people. He brought neither new theories of the philosopher or the theologian, nor new ordinances of the popular leader. . . . He brought the religious miracle of his personality, and a great world-renewing deed. The unique relationship to God which he carried in his breast he imparted as revelation to his people."



struggles of the soul, in which he has ended by burning what he once adored, and by adoring what he burned? Where shall we find the man who has broken with the past, in order to summons others to repentance as well as himself, but who through it all never speaks of his own repentance? He lived in religion, and it was breath to him in the fear of God; his whole life, all his thoughts and feelings were absorbed in the relation to God . . . . He spoke his message and looked at the world with a fresh and a clear eye for the life, great and small, that surrounded him. He proclaimed that to gain the whole world was nothing if the soul were injured, and yet he remained kind and sympathetic to every living thing. That is the most astonishing and the greatest thing about him."<sup>1</sup> If we could but get back into the workings of his mind and soul during these hidden years at Nazareth we might be permitted to learn of the entrance of divinity into humanity in the fullness in which we see it in Jesus—and learn the process of the moulding of this knowledge and life as it was going on. But of this we may be reasonably sure that he now came forth with all certainty and assurance of meeting the soul's needs and bringing to the common humanity the peace of heart and satisfaction of mind that it so passionately craved: not in some cunningly devised system of thought concerning God, but the absolute assurance of the knowledge of Him. And we cannot watch him as he comes into the midst of the activities of his race without seeing the mysterious majesty of divine assurance born in the face of the great overwhelming needs of the world. "His personal experience," says Principle Forsyth, "is far greater than anything he said or could say to his public. He only preached the true relation between God and man because he incarnated it, and because he came to establish it. . . . What he was for God, it is not for man intimately to know. We are blessed in what he did."<sup>2</sup> Another writer says "The authority of Jesus does not depend on

<sup>1</sup>Harnack: *op. cit.*; Cf. Schulz: *op. cit.* "He is, it is true, a man who struggles with temptations—not like God whom no temptation touches. But he is free from all traces of repentance and need of reconciliation. He does not yearn to be one with the Divine purpose, but has it in him as the aim of his own life." p. 288.

<sup>2</sup>Forsyth: *op. cit.*, pp. 36, 37.

any external credentials; it is involved in what he is and must be immediately apprehended and responded to by the soul."<sup>1</sup>

And it is precisely what he did and accomplished for man that is for man to know. In the words already quoted from Dr. Leighton it seems to me that he has analyzed truly Jesus' idea of God as found in what he did for man, saying, "He assumes that there exists a Supreme Mind or Person, all-powerful, all-knowing, all-Holy. He assumes the supreme unity of truth and Power in a divine Intelligence. He places first, as the supreme attribute in God the governing principle in His relation to man—Love . . . Love that passes beyond mere justice and righteousness, Love infinite in patience and forgiveness and eternal well-doing." And so we should say that "Christ himself is the apology for Christianity. . . . And the new life proceeding from him to man is the apology of Christ,"<sup>2</sup> were it necessary for us to turn around in an attempt to make an apology for him. (The architect of St. Paul's cathedral in London, Sir Christopher Wren, was a man of very small stature, but admittedly an intellectual giant. Over one of the doors of that magnificent building are these words below his own name, "*Si monumentum requiris circumspice*."<sup>3</sup> The MONUMENTS Christ has left of his great work, likewise testify of his might and majesty.) Furthermore, his life is the life of God among men, and the actuating force and motivating power is the life of divine love that seeks the salvation and redemption of his fellows—a love so pure, so free and uncontaminated by the limitations and evils of a worldly life. He had no need to argue concerning the existence of God because of the peculiar relation which he was sustaining with God—a relation at once unique and significant as finding expression for the divine and human, both universal; and the expression of the divine by Jesus was so real and so perfect as to be that expression best calculated to meet the needs of the race the world over. The fact

<sup>1</sup>Denny: art. Hasting's Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels, Vol. 1, p. 148 a; cf. Schulz: *op. cit.* "Jesus has proclaimed the will of God . . . as a prophet, with no other than his personal assurance, even where he had to put himself in opposition to the ruling views and current piety—even as one who possessed authority." p. 281.

<sup>2</sup>Schulz: *op. cit.*, p. 273.

<sup>3</sup>C. H. Row: *Christian Evidences*. London, 1887 (quoted by).



is, that back of all Jesus' efforts and actions there is the sublime consciousness of his unity with God which brooks no doubting and which shows itself in the perfect adaptation to the needs of men as he came before them. He was living and working in such harmony with God that we are bound to see that the divine life was for him as real as the human life; and to be the expression of that life was only to manifest his life in the true medium of life's sustenance. To him this relation with God was just as vital as that which ordinary mortals must sustain towards the facts of pure air and sanitary surroundings to guarantee the greatest degree of health of body and mind.

And from his lips the word "Father," though so often used in reference to God, was now surcharged with a fullness of meaning hitherto unknown. Because to him God is the Father, we see where Jesus reverses the order of divine attributes as systematized by theologians (or rather recognizes the better place of the more important dynamical attributes over those which are more purely speculative attributes) and instead of speaking of the omnipotence and omnipresence of God, or of His immutability and eternity, he makes the supreme attribute to be Love, which is all conjured up in the word "Father;" and this brings to men a new view of God showing Him in His real governance of the world by the Love that transcends and uses these other attributes as the instruments of His good pleasure towards his creatures:—and this Jesus declared out of the abundance of his own vitality of experience to be the very heart of the infinite God. "He affirms it as an unshaken, sun-clear intuition of God which he himself possesses in absolute measure, says Leighton, and the word 'Father,' though it had been applied to God before Jesus used the term it now possessed a world of new meaning in his mouth. Through Jesus men feel the Father's living presence and are made joyful in the new-found sense of God's personal presence and interest in them and in their lives. 'Your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of these things; Matt. 6:32; 'God is not the God of the dead, but of the living,' Matt. 22:32; Mk. 12:27, etc. 'If ye then being evil know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your Father which is in heaven give good things to them that ask Him?' Matt. 7:11, etc., . . . Jesus'

notion of God is absolutely ethical and spiritual."<sup>1</sup> "He has not sought to give a precise exposition of the general conception of God by means of theological notions, but he made it intelligible by usually employing the name Father to designate God."<sup>2</sup>

We must therefore conclude that the fountain head or source from which Jesus received his authority was through this unique and significant relation that he sustained to God—absolute harmony in life and purpose. In a very interesting article Mr. A. N. Rowlands says that "Jesus made the soul aware of its high origin and destiny, for the acceptance of the Fatherhood of God clears a path through Time and through Eternity. The issues of life become of supreme account to those who believe in One who lives and loves, watches and listens, provides and controls and will at length either welcome or reject." Jesus' ability to show this revelation to man, it is suggested by the same writer, is because he is "secure in the possession of his own personality, his self-consciousness being at one with God, his self-determination being merged in the will of God."<sup>3</sup> Dr. George Holly Gilbert, in one of his early books,<sup>4</sup> suggests that "the authority of Christ is Given to him by God. This is, of course, involved in the fact that it was God who anointed Jesus to be the Christ. The authority comes from the same source as the anointing. This truth finds incidental expression when Paul says that God GAVE to Jesus the name which should be above every name, that is, the name Lord (Phil. 2:9-11). . . . According to this, the gift of the name LORD was ethically conditioned. Paul saw in Jesus a supreme illustration of the principle contained in the LORD'S own words:—'He that humbleth himself shall be exalted.' This word in Philippians which makes the gift of Messianic authority depend upon Jesus' self-sacrifice accords with the prominence which Paul gives in his letters to the CHARACTER of Jesus."

<sup>1</sup>Leighton: *op. cit.*, pp. 149-150.

<sup>2</sup>Wendt: *op. cit.*, p. 185.

<sup>3</sup>A. N. Rowland: article, *Personality* Hasting's Dict. of Christ and the Gospels. Edin., 1908, Vol. 2, pp. 344a, 345a, § 3, (1).

<sup>4</sup>G. H. Gilbert: *The First Interpreters of Jesus*. N. Y., 901, p. 26.



This source is further manifested and noted to be in this peculiar relation to God when we consider his authority as coming from the mould as it were, *i. e.*, by his experience in relation to the world and his attitude to the fact of God. In proceeding from the known to the unknown we find from the activities of Jesus which portray for us the unseen experiences shared by him with the divine, that he lived constantly in that presence; it seems, too, as though no part of his life can be separated from this unique and supreme relation; he interpreted the mind and heart of God—therefore he must show his authority first of all by bringing to the mind and heart of men the true interpretation of the divine nature. His own thinking was so peculiarly divine, and the divine thoughts so eminently fitted into the life of Jesus that every word that fell from his lips brought men face to face with the new thoughts of God and divine things. When he spoke it was not necessary for him to assume any attitude of authority other than the attitude one naturally assumes when he is humbly, withal boldly, giving out the truth of a great burning yet loving message,—and men who hear it immediately give it the stamp of authority. Those whose souls are dissatisfied with present moral and spiritual attainments listen to and accept the words of divine life; and because they have had brought to them the food needed by the soul, and the stimulus needed by the mind, at once declare that he “speaks with authority and not as the scribes,” because he has come to them with the fullness of life, both for the life that now is and gives them the assurance and conviction for the life that is to come. And when the Pharisee, complacent in his own righteousness which is of the law, hears the word of life, by his own action and attitude of fiery opposition and hatred because he has been touched in his petty selfhood, he too, recognizes that in Jesus is one who speaks with greater vitality of power than the Law in getting at the evils of life which it is the purpose of God in Christ to destroy—and go higher in life and health than all the commandments and injunctions of the Law as it breathes out its:—“Do this and thou shalt live,” “touch not.” And so we find first that the source of Jesus’ authority is his unique and unitary relation with God coming from his own personality. We are not unaware that the theme at this point admirably lends itself to a consideration and discussion of the teaching of Jesus, or the Religion

of Jesus<sup>1</sup>—both of which issues are admirably though conservatively treated by Principal P. T. Forsyth in the second and fourth lectures in the work already quoted. Of Jesus, more truly than all other religious leaders that the world has known, it can be said that “His personal experience is far greater than anything that he said or could say to his public. All he said, arose, indeed, from his own experience, for he was no lecturer. But also it is all less than his experience. He received from none the Gospel he spoke. He only preached the true relation between God and Man because he incarnated it, and because he established it. *And therefore you cannot take him as a teacher alone*” (italics mine).<sup>2</sup> “In short,” says another writer, “Jesus’ own life and personality is the ultimate source of his moral influence.”<sup>3</sup> The other two great postulates in psychology, those of the Will and Action—besides Thought, as determining the mould in which the life is cast and from which it comes to us in its own peculiar form and shape, find appropriate places in our discussion of the source of Jesus’ authority. It is true that the source of Jesus’ authority can be found in his absolute harmony with the divine, and a very significant oneness with humanity to whom he came as the vehicle of the divine mind—but the process of this relation will never be known to us; and we can only accept it as we find it true in his own experience. I think it has been clearly shown in our statement of the fact of his union with God that this union is shown in the fact of his own experience in translating the fact of God into understandable terms of human appropriation. As President Henry Churchill King says in one of his popular books,<sup>4</sup> “This recognition of the personal in Christ will mean, first, that we are to conceive Christ as a PERSONAL revelation of God, rather than containing in himself a divine sub-

<sup>1</sup>Cf., e. g., A. Sabatier’s *Religions of Authority*, N. Y., 1907, Bk. 3.

G. B. Stevens: *New Testament Theology*, N. Y., 1905.

John Watson: *Christianity and Idealism*, N. Y., 1897.

H. Schulz: *Out. of Christian Apologetics*, N. Y., 1909.

<sup>2</sup>P. T. Forsyth: *op. cit.*, p. 36.

<sup>3</sup>A. J. Leighton: *op. cit.*, p. 177.

<sup>4</sup>H. C. King: *Theology and the Social Consciousness*. N. Y., 1902. pp. 184-185; cf. also his *Reconstruction in Theology*. N. Y., 1901. p. 241 *et. seq.*



stance. It cannot be forgotten that if God is a person, and men are persons, the adequate self-revelation of God to men can be made only in a truly personal life; and that men need above all, in their relation to God, some manifestation of his ethical will, and this can be shown only in the character of a person. . . . This implies that the dominant sense of value and sacredness of the person will certainly tend to bring into prominence the moral and spiritual supremacy of Christ rather than the metaphysical or simply miraculous." And in another place the same writer speaks as follows on this thought of Christ as the revealer of God the Father—"in Christ" says President King, is "the greatest and most significant fact in the world, and so our best proof of the existence of God in the full Christian sense. . . . This argument does not at all go, it should be noticed, upon any assumption of arbitrary authority of Jesus, *but simply upon the signification of what he is* (italics mine). Any authority subsequently given him must be based wholly upon what he is in fact found to be. I count the fact of Christ, the greatest of all proofs of a completely satisfying God . . . the proof most powerful to produce conviction in the mind of a man who has himself come to full moral consciousness."<sup>1</sup>

And Herrman, working from a different view point, viz., that of the ecclesiastical authority of the Lutheran Church in Germany, says that "Luther . . . at the same time always asserted that we find the living God in Jesus Christ. . . . But he only becomes real to me when he lifts me to himself. He does this through the Man Jesus, and when this act of God revealing Himself, namely Jesus, gains power over our inner life, we are redeemed." Again the same author says "it is a communion of the soul with God through the mediation of Christ. Herein is really included all that belongs to the characteristic life of Christendom—revelation and faith, conversion and the comfort of forgiveness, the joy of faith and the service of love, life with God alone and life in Christian fellowship. All this is then truly Christian when it is experienced as communion with the living God through the meditation of Christ. When we believe in a man's personal Christianity we are convinced that he

<sup>1</sup>H. C. King: The Seeming Unreality of the Spiritual Life. N. Y., 1908. pp. 202-203.

stands in that relation towards God which has thus been described."<sup>1</sup> Because Jesus lived and moved and had his being in the unshakable consciousness of God's eternal presence, he must needs have the will of God as the dynamic of his life (*cf.* Rowland, Hastings's Dict. of Christ and the Gospels, vol. 2, p. 344a). We find this explicitly stated in the record of Jesus' sayings when he talks to the opponents of his activities as they demand of him the source of his authority for his actions. 'My Father worketh hitherto and I work;' 'I came to do the will of my Father;' 'My meat and drink is to do the will of Him that sent me.' We can easily see, I think, the working of this power of making God's will to be his own will in the total activities of his ministry, postulating that such a dynamic must have been at work in the quiet years of his private life in the village home in the hill town of Nazareth. And so everywhere we find that the source of authority that shows itself in the activities of Jesus is the harmony that he so powerfully sustains with God. Yes, his own confession was, 'I do always the things that please Him.' And it is not, to my mind, at all unlikely that the impetuous Peter was entirely right, and within the bounds of full justice and judgment when he gives us the dispassionate (?) view of Jesus' life which he describes as 'He went about doing good.' It would seem that his life portrayed the attitude of the Infinite God in just such terms as the suffering and oppressed heart of the simple Jews as they longed to know their Creator and God. If we could have thrown on the screen before us the conditions of health and home and the inner life of these wayfaring and simple-minded Jewish people, we should doubtless see that the true conception of Jehovah God was not completely extinguished; and as Jesus lived and wrought among them, the dimly shining spark of the divine in them came into fuller light again and came to be one of the potent factors in the redemption of the people and the race. It is a significant fact that there was a time when the English language was as seriously threatened as ever the true religion was threatened at this time among the Jews. At the Norman invasion and conquest of England, the French language not only became the instrument of court proceedings, but there were great efforts made to take it into all the homes and sup-

<sup>1</sup>Herrman: *op. cit.*, p. 7.



plant the strong and virile English of those days. However, the hearth and home could not be so easily penetrated by a foreign and 'polite' means of speech. But the love for the home tongue might have been finally quenched by the persistent efforts of the powers that held sway had it not been that a people's poet arose from among the midst of them, who knew the heart of his countrymen, and in their own language spoke to them; the project to foster the French language was forever frustrated, and in the work of Chaucer we have the redeemer and preserver of the English language. Back of the dimness of the religion of the Jews, about to be snuffed out forever by the hand of legalism and the domination of a foreign power, Jesus caught the sound of the voices of the better nature of his countrymen, just as in later years Chaucer did the same thing for the mother tongue of his countrymen. And back of all his living we can perceive that Jesus was actuated by a motive really not his own but combining his own with a transcending motive, the motive of God. And we are able to appreciate his confession of unity with God when he tells us that he came to do his Father's will and make it to be his own will; how else can we understand the keen rebuffs and the constant thwartings that he met with and did not complain or let go his hold and purpose? "What the precepts of non-resistance and non-retaliation mean is that under no circumstance, under no provocation, must the disciple of Jesus allow his conduct to be determined by any other motive than that of love. He must be prepared to go to all lengths with love, and no matter how love is tried, he must never renounce it for an inferior principle, still less for an instinctive natural passion—such as the desire for revenge. But thus, the moral authority of Jesus is unquestionable, and it asserts itself over us the more, the more we feel that he embodied in his own life and conduct the principle which he proclaims . . . Jesus is our authority, but his words not our statutes. . . . There is an authority in him to which no words, not even his own, can ever be equal." "(Denny, *Authority of Christ*. in *Hastings's Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*, vol. 1, p. 148a). Back of all the exceedingly trying experiences through which he passed, we cannot but note his majesty and greatness as the silent dynamic, checking the flow of ordinary human weaknesses of moral character, and in their place begetting calmness amid dangers and difficulties, forgiveness in the face of slanders and

assaults, and wooing and winning his enemies by a non-combative and non-retaliative attitude; revealing the strength of the divine life to which he was linked so inseparably—and becoming at once the greatest argument for his life and teachings and the most serious obstacle against the overthrowing of them: 'Believe me for the very works sake.'

### 3 *The Result of His Authority.*

He taught in deed as well as in word. Besides his constant deeds of healing the body as well as the mind, by which he does reverence to the body so often despised by his would-be followers, and allows no place in his thought for an ascetic dualism, compare his many utterances and notice his frequent companionating with the socially outcast and despised—with the publican and the sinner; and these actions are justified by his words: 'The Son of Man is come to save that which is lost;' 'They that are whole need not a physician but they that are sick;' 'He hath anointed me to preach the Glad-tidings to the poor.' and to him we find that there is but

'One God, one, law, one element  
And one far off divine event  
To which the whole creation moves.'

and this is the redemption of his people by God through him. In his life we see something of the true greatness and genius of life; and 'nothing great was ever done without passion' said the French philosopher Diderot. It is from such a life that we see the stream of gentle and gracious activities proceeding, seeking always the good and blessing of others. And this, too, not in any merely utilitarian way, and not to secure merely the greatest happiness for the greatest number. He went far back of any such one-sided life philosophy, and endeavors to secure to his people the greatest good which could come to them only through the renewed and revitalized relation to God—possible to them since he came for such a purpose: 'No man cometh to the Father save through the Son.' In the activities of Jesus, the opening of the blind eyes, the restoration of the lame, maimed, and halt; the restoration to life of those who were sick unto death, his forgiveness of sins to the man at the beautiful gate and the woman taken in adultery; the going out of his way to heal the leper—all point to the great truth that below the surface of the



actions he brings us face to face with the great motivations of God—His will realized in a human life! a life wherein the divine will is so completely realized by producing the very activities of God.

His mind was bent upon realizing the Kingdom of God in the hearts of men and his efforts were to bring God's will to earth in a language which would unfold itself in terms of human understanding. He showed his own willingness in the attitude that he sustained to God; and the stream of divine consciousness finally manifested itself in his attitude to human beings—that he came to bring them into their rightful inheritance. The key to the sublime self-consciousness of Christ is that *in him we find the immediate and supreme expression of the divine will*, giving us the result of the divine education and interpretation. And because of this supreme and sublime expression in Jesus' life we are bound to consider its meaning for the Modern Mind.<sup>1</sup>

Dr. G. A. Gordon, speaking of "Jesus Christ and Immortality; Faith and Fact" brings out in a noble expression how that faith in Jesus as the acme of all and God's final medium, that poets, philosophers and prophets had their complement only in the light of what he came to do and accomplish. And no thinking man in this day can set down his conclusions of life without taking into account what this same Jesus has done for him and made possible of realization. I am coming to believe that the majority of psychological and philosophical conclusions will agree that this authority of Jesus is full of meaning for the modern mind in the complexities of life, a life which is oftentimes only too greatly perplexed and confused in the array of so many so-called conclusions of science, philosophy and history.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Geo. A. Gordon: *The Witness to Immortality*. Boston, 1893. p. 227 ff.

<sup>2</sup>In an analysis of the essential teachings of Jesus, Harnack (*op. cit.* p. 51) suggests the following: The general view of Jesus' teachings comprehend three heads: "I The Kingdom of God and its coming; II God the Father and the infinite value of the Human soul; III The Higher Righteousness and the commandment of love.

"That Jesus' message is so great and so powerful lies in the fact that it is so simple and on the other hand so rich; so simple as to be exhausted in each of the three leading thoughts which he uttered; so rich that every one of these thoughts seems to be inexhaustible and the full meaning of the sayings and parables beyond our reach. But more than that—he himself stands behind everything that he said. His words speak to us across the centuries with the freshness of the present. It is here that that profound saying is truly verified: 'Speak that I may see Thee.'"

(A) In this unique example of divine relationship manifested by Jesus, we find that it is now possible for us to come into conscious nearness to God as never before in the history of the Race. And it is such an attainment that is found to bring with it deep peace—described as the peace that passeth all understanding, for which the soul of man craves. “It is especially important,” says Wendt, “to consider that Jesus did not proceed from the assertion of his Messiahship and the chief realization of the kingdom of God in his own person as Messiah and upon that basis found his teaching in regard to the kind of salvation and the nature of the righteousness to be found in the kingdom which he was to establish . . . . He purposely kept his own Messiahship in the background. . . He suppressed the premature announcement of his Messiahship by the demons,” and as his ministry advanced “even then he expressly forbade the publication of the truth. . . He did not, from the outset, directly proclaim that truth, but gradually paved the way for its being understood by teaching the nature and coming of the kingdom in general. He thus sought to call forth, wherever possible, a spontaneous recognition of the truth on the part of others, not by their mere acceptance of authoritative assertions, but from an enlightened understanding of its grounds. Had Jesus declared himself to be the Messiah, there would have been associated with his person, in accordance with the prevailing Jewish ideas of the nature of the Messianic kingdom, expectations which he neither could nor would fulfill. But if he first elicited an understanding of the Messianic kingdom as he meant it, then also the paradoxical form in which he himself realized the ideal of the Messiah would be understood as the true and necessary one, in conformity with the genuine nature of the kingdom of God.”<sup>1</sup> When did Jesus attain his Messianic consciousness? and with what preparation did he attain it? In another place in this paper, I have suggested that if the curtain could only be lifted on his hidden years in Nazareth, they would unfold to our gaze a wonderful instance of religious purity in the soul of Jesus, on whom, from the very beginnings, there seemed to rest a special measure of divine favor; and in Jesus’ heart this favor from God found ready response to its winsomeness—for the deeper and truer religion gets into the

<sup>1</sup>H. Wendt: *The Teachings of Jesus*; trans. Edin., 1901. Vol. 1, pp. 176-178.



heart the more winsome does it become. And further, I think we should see in this ready response of the unsullied soul of Jesus the gracious influence of the divine heart. So God and humanity were united in him. In speaking of the Messianic preparation Wendt<sup>1</sup> says that "it consisted in having, from childhood, known and loved God as his Father, and in having been conscious of possessing divine endowments, and in having striven to do God's will in upright obedience. Only by having lived and moved in this relation to God, which he deemed the normal and natural one, could knowledge have come upon him at baptism with the sun-burst of a revelation, that on this very relation the peculiar nature of the kingdom of God rested, and that he himself, in whom that relation was thoroughly realized, had been called to be the founder of the kingdom of God. In analogy with the growth of his own Messianic consciousness, he had also to awaken in others the true recognition of his Messiahship. He had first to impress upon them those spiritual relations between God and man which he now perceived as the essential foundation of the kingdom of God. He had also to produce in them the conviction that where this relation had come to exist, there was the kingdom of God realized." Men wanted to know God in whom they could live and find the complement of life. It is a significant fact that the trend of modern thought is that the whole round of man's activities can and ought to be touched by God, and that real success in life's attainments is won by the conscious touch and nearness of the divine life with the human. When the call to 'repent,' not as understood in any merely theological sense, nor as determined by the councils of the Church, but the true Metanoia—change of both life and conduct—is heeded then shall Christ begin to reign in hearts supremely. And to the man without knowledge and culture, into whose life-currents this new life divine has come, then comes the incentive for knowledge and the desire for culture. Both such classes, then, as they come into conscious nearness to God, get a step nearer the *abermensch* becoming strong men full of deeds and vigor.<sup>2</sup> The coming of this new experience, super-human because

<sup>1</sup> Wendt: *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 180-181, 2; cf. also Harnack *op. cit.*, p. 191: "As a gospel it has only *one* aim, the finding of the living God, the finding of Him by every individual as *his* God, and as the source of strength and joy and peace."

<sup>2</sup>Cf. A. Allin, in *The Am. Jour. of Psychology*, Vol. 8, No. 3, p. 310.

above human, marks the beginning of a new era of life; the business relation is changed and new ideas of commercial conduct are begotten, and relation between subordinates and superiors is marked by a dignified fraternalism. I well remember an instance of startling sequence in illustration of this principle. Some years ago I came into touch with a man who had simply 'grown' up—who knew no schooling, and who, more likely through viciousness and perverted moral nature rather than any congenital defects, was always regarded as being lacking in completeness of mental faculty. Through the efforts of some young men interested in this fellow's welfare he was 'miraculously' made interested in religious things and finally came to the place where, in his saner and sober moods, he was brought face to face with the fact of the moral supremacy of Jesus; and facing the fact, embraced it. In a childlike manner he professed conversion and faith in Jesus Christ. The change was remarkable! A tongue that could hitherto scarcely pronounce his own name, and now full of shame and sorrow of his former circumstances and life, became comparatively free in speaking of his new-found joy and gracious experience. His mind became quickened to learn and in order that he might know more of this new life and experience that he had met and grasped, he began to learn. At this time he must have been forty years old. From a drunken sot who knew no greater joy than rags and indolence, he became a man who had respect for himself—for his person and appearance—who now sought not to walk in the ways of self-indulgence and ignorance, but whose efforts were directed in acquiring knowledge and living usefully and unselfishly. Naturally such a man laid himself open to meet many trying situations from his old companions and associates in toil, but I believe that he refused to let go this new principle of life and love which had come into his life with the advent of Jesus as the supreme moral fact of life. 'Nothing' says Prof. James Denny, 'is less like Jesus than to do violence to any one's liberty or to invade the sacredness of conscience and personal responsibility; but the broad fact is unquestionable, that without coercing others Jesus dominated them, without breaking their wills he imposed his own will upon them, and became for them the supreme moral authority to which they submitted absolutely, and by which they were inspired. His authority was unconditionally acknowledged be-



cause men in his presence were conscious of his moral ascendancy, and of his devotion to and identification with what they could not but feel to be the supreme good. We cannot explain this kind of moral or practical authority further than by saying that it is one with the authority which the right and good exercise over all moral beings.<sup>1</sup> By another writer<sup>2</sup> the authority of Jesus has been described as being as "gentle as the light of day. What he says about God and man and their relations needs no elaborate system of evidences to commend it. It is self-evidencing. It is rest-giving. Heart, conscience, reason rest in it. Men who have long wandered in darkness leap for joy when at last they come to the school of Jesus, and discover in him the true Master of the Spirit. Such was the experience of men in ancient times coming to Jesus from the schools of Greek philosophy; such is the experience of many in our day who had despaired of attaining to religious certainty."

Yet another example of like character to the one just cited is that of the late Owen Kildare who in his *Mamie Rose*, the story of his regeneration, tells the story of his own career—from a Bowery "bum" and lounge, to becoming self-respecting and capable of supporting himself by his pen within eight years after his acceptance of the fact of Christ and receiving him as supreme moral guide.<sup>3</sup>

(B) It is because Jesus came among men bringing with him the divine and highest and best in man, that men are apparently, yes, and in reality, unconsciously influenced by his work and purpose. "His influence" says Dr. Geo. A. Gordon, "was but God at work upon men; his miracles but the intelligence and love of God using the power of God as displayed in the outward world. This consciousness of Christ receiving up out of the eternal deeps the wisdom of God, and using this ceaseless income of grace upon man, and upon the nature of man, is the key . . . to his sublime idea of the life eternal. . . It was the thing about which he was the most clear and certain; for it was the thing with which he had most to do, and under

<sup>1</sup>Denny: *Dict., op. cit.* Vol. 1, p. 147a.

<sup>2</sup>A. B. Bruce: *Apologetics Inter. Theol. Lib.* Edin., 1893, p. 494.

<sup>3</sup>*Cf.* also the examples gathered in the late Prof. James' "The Varieties of Religious Experience," London, 1903; and Harold Bigbee's "Twice-Born Men," London and Boston, 1909.

whose power he lived unceasingly. It was the realization in him of the truth and grace of God. . . . The man who is bound by gratitude to God and by love and service to his kind, and who looks upon the world from the elevation of the Cross, lives a life of increasing strength and perennial freshness."<sup>1</sup>

Man comes into this conscious nearness to God, sometimes naturally, *i. e.*, hereditarily, and he does not know the precise time when this relation was assumed; such have been the men whom God has used to do the steady, constant, and persistent work in the things divine in the effort to realize the kingdom of heaven upon earth, and the work has been done quietly. Others, violent men, have taken possession of it by force, they have come into it only with great exertion, and paid dearly for it as they have fought strenuously and seriously with a perverted moral life for the mastery, and then these have gone out into the same kind of immoral or unnatural environments to bring other men into this same place of rest, the point of contact with God through Jesus Christ. In each case, because man is naturally related to God, as creature to creator, and it becomes natural for a morally healthy man, in the uprightness of life to think of and desire a life with God, we find that the same thing must be done, namely: man must first abandon himself supremely to God's will and purpose. And the state of his mind and the nature of his experience as he comes into this conscious nearness to God, will determine very largely the kind of life in this relation, and the shape his activities will assume. That is to say, his whole life will be colored by these two facts. From this we shall get a different type of activities, and different manifestations of the outworkings of the mind of God; yet each will be the same in this one fact—each will come to full completeness of life. This will prove the basis of their faith, to be modified, of course, with new experiences and the addition of new facts. This will be their religion. Our Christianity is foreign to the religion of Jesus when it fails to lead men to implicit faith in the Father of Spirits in full and holy worship. Jesus' religion is shown in his influencing efforts to realize the Father's purpose and will for him. Because he has shown us the possibility of coming into conscious nearness to God, and opened the way by the

<sup>1</sup>Geo. A. Gordon: *op. cit.*, pp. 229-230, 234.



means of his own moral supremacy—the realization of this fact must be and ever will be the characteristic element in the religion of Jesus. For weal or woe, religion is and eternally will be, Jesus has shown the way to the Great All-Father's heart because he came forth from it. It is impossible for us to realize this conscious nearness to God, without the corollary of coming into

(C) *Intimate Contact with God.*

We have seen that it was this nearness to God which brought Jesus into touch with Him and when, in Jesus' heeding the custom of baptism, we are brought face to face with him for the first time as the lamb of God, it is then that we note the difference between Jesus and John. John was the last link of the old school of the prophets; Jesus the first of the life renewing forces from God. John's life was really in the past with those of Isaiah, Hosea, Micah and Malachi; Jesus was in the present with an untold power of the future. He is the supreme example of God entering into and touching human lives, and he intimated that his life as an example of a God-filled (enthusiastic) life was possible to all men. Contact with God fills men with divine purposes and creates an indomitable passion for righteousness and justice, for truth and love. And it is no strange thing to note that to-day, the men who would do things for humanity are the men who are filled with God, and with a zeal for the things pertaining to the kingdom of righteousness, truth and love. Neither is it strange that this enthusiasm and zeal show themselves in diverse ways and modes of activities—perhaps sociological (*i. e.*, philanthropic) and educational. Contact and touch with God heighten man's value as a social and religious animal—yes, create out of him a new being—a new man in Christ Jesus as the great Apostle to the Gentiles so aptly describes it. Now we have a man filled with all the holy passion of God; and many a man who was, before this experience, unknown and without influence or place to lead and control others is made to be a human leader; and, we are told that "Human leadership calls for a like aspiration towards perfection according to the law of our being, a perfection that finds expression in the moral sphere in the guise of blamelessness. Furthermore, "in the case of man," continues the same author, "there is

a call for something more than passive surrender to the operation of life; there is asking as well as receiving, an interchange of confidences if you will. . . He, Jesus, holds the reins of final purpose in his hands. That he will conduct surely to the goal the unimaginably vast multitudes of sentient beings from this and other worlds, the myriads belonging to yesterday added to all the myriads of all the to-morrows, together with the generations of to-day in which you and I have a place, is fixed and sure."<sup>1</sup> Into this great work of Christ the modern man enters by his loyalty and unfeigned faith. He makes himself active in the welfare of man; for this is what he interprets to be the highest motive of God, and he brings them into relation with the great All-Father. When all men shall have been brought into this now unique, but then natural relation, the long sighed for city of our God shall be present. Yet in this acceptance of Jesus Christ and his passion and purpose in the redemption of humanity, we are not ignorant that there enter many complex situations and varied, and oftentimes scarcely explainable experiences, baffling and perplexing. But, we are assured that "amid all that is mysterious and baffling the authority of Jesus stands in view—and because he has touched our life at so many points, he stands ready to quiet our doubts and deepen our convictions of the certainties of life. In him we find summed up all the deep, true, fundamental experiences of both man and God. He asks nothing of us but nobleness of human sincerity in the hope of our making a good contribution to that 'one far off divine event to which the whole creation is moving'."<sup>2</sup> And as we have seen that he kept himself free that his opportunity might be full, he taught us by this example that it is not the place that makes the man, but the man makes the place; he proved himself the first of all and the greatest of all not inapt for humble service.

Granted that there is one great far off divine event towards which the whole creation is moving, it follows that it is the part of wisdom for every man to put himself in such close touch with the great world purpose. "And he would really be a leader in the truest life will best aid the world purpose in extinguishing the lower elements that

<sup>1</sup>Brent: *op. cit.*, pp. 39, 40, 41.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, *in loco*.



are at variance with such a purpose . . . and that by encouraging the production of the higher."<sup>1</sup> Again, is it only to the man who has come into this relation with God through Jesus Christ that can really appreciate and understand the true significance of the unity of the world ground,<sup>2</sup> and the unity of the universe. Moreover "it is clear that in so complex and diversified a thing as human life the earliest essential is that which will give coherence to the whole, a pervasive rather than a conjunctive force."<sup>3</sup> This essential we find to be purity of motive in life, such a factor determines one's relations to the great material and moral universe; and the diversity of human life is unified in this passion. Then "he whose motive is the purest and who is wed by it to purpose, will lead his fellows as a shepherd leads his flock."<sup>4</sup> It is this new purpose in the heart of man in touch with the great divine life that transforms it and makes it forget itself. And its purposes are realized through dogged determination and masterful purpose, in the face of apparent defeat.

"For while the tired waves, vainly breaking,  
Seem here no painful inch to gain,  
Far back, through creeks and inlets making,  
Comes silent, flooding in the main."

"Man is nothing left to himself. He is not a man until he becomes a member of a home, a citizen of a state, a communicant in the church of humanity. His essential nature is hidden until he confesses himself a son and a brother; until he finds in fact or in sympathy, a home for himself, and he steps out into a definite responsible relation to his nation and his kind. The individual is thus discovered and realized through society. He is a personal centre in a network of human relations; and if we tear him from the texture of being, as selfishness always does, we destroy his essential nature as man, and reduce him again to the brute category. Long ago Aristotle said: 'Man is a social being,' and he who does not

<sup>1</sup>Brent: *op. cit.*, pp. 34-35; cf. also A. T. Hadley, Baccalaureate Addresses, N.Y., 1907. p. 51 *et. seq.*

<sup>2</sup>Cf. B. P. Bowne, Theism, N. Y., 1887.

<sup>3</sup>Brent, *op. cit.*, pp. 36; cf., also Hadley, *op. cit.*, *ad supra*, pp. 73-89 The Religious Ideal.

<sup>4</sup>Brent: *op. cit.*, pp. 37.

continue the individual, in terms of domestic, social, and human relationship misses the essential constitution of man. . . . The city of God means the social order set upon divine foundations of love, and the whole structure and aim and movement of human life purified and inspired by the indwelling God."<sup>1</sup> Again this conscious nearness to God, made possible through Jesus is bound to culminate in the realization of that state and condition which Jesus calls eternal life, bringing surcease to the doubts of the soul seeking light on the problem of the Beyond—the after experience. "And this is life eternal that they might know thee, the only true God, and Jesus whom thou hast sent." Jesus discovered to man's self the fact of immortality beyond the shadow of a doubt. And from the point of view of Jesus' follower, the fact of eternal life brings plenary inspiration for the accomplishment of the things that now are and the life that now is—a moral dynamic for the "daily round and common tasks" of life. "Thus life eternal is a possession for the present, while unconfined to time or place. And I think there is something impressive and conclusive, to a noble mind, in the affirmation that the soul filled with beautiful regard for man and burdened with great desires for the world cannot perish but must forever go on. . . . Its origin is in the immutable character of God, and its seat the fixed and ineffaceable image of God in the human soul . . . The eternal life is thus the aspect of all beings, Divine and human . . . It is the reproduction in the human of that which is the victorious contradiction of all change and decay."<sup>2</sup> This eternal life is the human life realized and inspired. It is the completed life, communion with the divine around, within, and above.

It has been urged, both by critics of the present age, and by critics of the Gospels, that the perpetuation of the Christian character under the conditions of modern life is possible only by pious self-deception—all too soon proving impracticable. "If Christianity" it is categorically laid down "is to mean the taking of the Gospels as our rule of life, then we none of us are Christians, and no matter what we say, we all know we ought not to be;" and after a very superficial criticism from such a student, Bradley proceeds "Uni-

<sup>1</sup>Gordon: *op. cit.*, pp. 235-236.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 238-239.



versal love doubtless is a virtue, but tameness and baseness—to turn the cheek to every rascal who smites it, to suffer the robbery of villains and the contumely of the oppressor, to stand idly by when the helpless are violated and the land of one's birth in its death struggle, and to leave honor and vengeance to God above—are qualities that deserve some other epithet." In the same article the writer tells us that there is an unreconcilable enmity between Christianity and morality.<sup>1</sup>

It has been suggested by a more recent writer, and one more sympathetic to both the historical and moral importance of Jesus, that though there may arise "Questions of criticism, of authority, of divinity that may be insoluble; but the Sermon on the Mount, the parables, the teaching, the character of Jesus, are left; and the practical Christ is enough to satisfy a practical age."<sup>2</sup>

The working class movement of the times represents the same view of the Gospels. 'We used to think that Christ was a fiction of the priests', quotes Professor Peabody<sup>3</sup> in his work already cited, from "The Kernel and the Husk." p. 334 (American edition, 1887), "but now we find that he was a man after all like us—a poor working man who has a heart for the poor—and now that we understand this, we say—he is the man for us." "What infinite pathos is in that scene at Capernaum when the people crowd upon him so that he and his friends cannot find time to eat. . . The crowds press around him and he serves them gladly, and then it seems as if his nature demanded solitude for refreshment of his faith. The tide of the spirit ebbs from him in the throng, and when he goes apart he is least alone, because the Father is with him. Thus from utterance to silence, from giving to receiving, from society to solitude, the rhythm of his nature removes and the power which is spent in service is renewed in isolation. He is able to bear the crosses of others because he bears his own. He can be of use to men because he can go without them.

<sup>1</sup>F. H. Bradley: *The Limits of Indiv. and Nat. Self-Sacrifice*. In *J. Ethics*, 1894.

<sup>2</sup>Peabody, G. F.: "The Character of Jesus Christ." *Hibbert Journal*, 1902-1903, vol. 1, p. 642.

<sup>3</sup>Peabody G. F.: "The Character of Jesus Christ." *Hibbert Journal*, 1902-1903, Vol. 1, p. 642.

He is ethically effective because he is spiritually free. He is able to save because he is strong to suffer. His sympathy and his solitude are alike the instruments of his strength. The type of character directly derived from him—the Christian character—is not a survival of monastic or sentimental ideals, inapplicable to the conditions of the modern world; it is a form of power effective through strength of soul. Its force flows down like an unstinted river among the utilities of life because it is nourished among the eternal hills. It has its abundance and its reserves, its service and its solitude; and the power which moves the busy wheels of the life of man is fed in the deep places of the life of God.”<sup>1</sup> This acceptance of the fact of Christ produces in humanity a religious consciousness, which it is well said by an anonymous writer, “takes two different forms as it realizes more vividly the nearness or remoteness of God. In the one case it sees in Him a Father; in the other, a Judge: in the former it goes to Him direct, relying on a Father’s love and the kinship of spirit with spirit; in the latter, conscious of offence, it fears an angry Deity, and seeks for mediation between itself and Him. Each standpoint has its strong and weak points. The one, while discerning more truly the relation between God and man, is apt to make little of sin, and to be ‘at ease in Zion;’ the other, while reading human nature as it is more accurately, makes God in the likeness of man. It substitutes an arbitrary dualism for the divine harmony of the universe; and, forgetting the emphatic ‘I commanded it not, neither came it into my mind’ of the prophet (Jer. 7:31), allies itself with evil shapes of darkness as intermediaries between man and the God who ‘is not very far from each one of us,’ in whom ‘we live and move and have our being’. . . . The Gospel of Jesus unites these two positions . . . claiming the nearness of God, it recognizes the estrangement of man. By birth a son, he is in ‘a far country’ he must rise and go to the Father’s house.”<sup>2</sup>

Because Jesus lived in time and spoke to the hearts of men, he now lives in the hearts of men redeemed and brought nigh unto

<sup>1</sup>Peabody, G. F.: *The Character of Jesus Christ*. Hibbert Journal, 1902-1903, Vol. 1, pp. 658-659.

<sup>2</sup>Romanus: *The Hist. Jesus, and the Christ of Experience*. Hib. J., Vol. 3, pp. 583-584.

God the Father. His authority of life has brought peace to the modern mind in the realm of spiritual and moral questions—because he is the summation of the highest moral concepts of the race. In a new way men are brought to touch divine things, and the tasks of the day are freighted with the significance of eternal values—and life is linked with God—where the great unceasing purpose runs on through the ages until all shall claim one holy light one heavenly flame.

“Sun of our life! Thy quickening ray  
Sheds on our path the glow of day;  
Star of our hope! Thy quickened light  
Cheers the long watches of the night.  
Lord of all life, below, above,  
Whose light is truth, whose warmth is love,  
Before Thy everblazing throne  
We ask no lustre of our own.  
Grant us Thy truth to make us free;  
And kindling hearts that burn for Thee;  
Till all Thy living alters claim  
One holy light, one heavenly flame.”

The work of Jesus, according to the best apprehension of it to-day, has its value and significance in his divine-human personality in which we find the embodiment of light, life, and love—divine qualities and characters—and this, too, under the conditional limitations of humanity. We see too, that amid the changing conceptions of naturalism, the personality of God, and also of man, Jesus may be known as transmitting his life—the moral power and personality of God himself—to man, and in due course is regarded as what sacred writer calls, the wisdom of God, and the power of God unto all that believe. The authority of Christ is more fully exhibited and manifested in the production of the Christian character. He produces a revolution in the lives he enters, which is tantamount to a completely new creation so great is the force of this new moral and spiritual dynamic. In the Christian character it is to be found that freedom takes the place of bondage to the law; faith transcends the servility of traditional and legal or ceremonial observances; filial love takes the place of cowering and cringing fear at the presence of the great Judge of the quick and the dead; peace rules and reigns in joy and sweetness because he has paid the debt of sin:



"No condemnation now I dread  
Jesus and all in him are mine;  
Alive in him, my quickened head  
And clothed in righteousness divine;  
Bold I approach the eternal throne,  
And claim the crown through Christ my own."

The Christian then is in harmony with God, with his own heart and with the whole world, because in Christ he has been brought to the great wellspring of life: where death and sighing shall be no more, and grace and love are governing free; there is perennial joy and wonder at the new meanings of life that are constantly unfolding themselves to his reverent gaze and pulsating heart as he draws power from this eternal source. With Luther, the disciple of Christ can surely say 'Er ist mein Herr,' and with the early disciples, 'Jesus my Lord.'

No data of science, physical or metaphysical, have the power to destroy this power and authority of Christ.

"To be the child of God," says Harnack, "and to be gifted with the Spirit are simply the same as being a disciple of Christ."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Harnack: *op. cit.*, p. 165.

# ON THE CONNECTION BETWEEN HOMOSEXUALITY AND DIVINATION AND THE IMPORTANCE OF THE INTERMEDIATE SEXES GENERALLY IN EARLY CIVILIZATIONS.

By EDWARD CARPENTER.

A curious and interesting subject is the connection of the Uranian temperament with prophetic gifts and divination. It is a subject which, as far as I know, has not been seriously considered—though it has been touched upon by Elie Reclus, Westermarck and others. The fact is well known, of course, that in the temples and cults of antiquity and of primitive races it has been a widespread practice to educate and cultivate certain youths in an effeminate manner, and that these youths in general become the priests or medicine-men of the tribe; but this fact has hardly been taken seriously, as indicating any necessary connection between the two functions, or any relation in general between homosexuality and psychic powers. Some such relation or connection, however, I think we must admit as being indicated, and the question is what it may be.

In the account given in the Bible of the reforming zeal of King Josiah (2 Kings XXIII) we are told (v. 4) that “the King commanded Hilkiah the high priest, and the priests of the second order, and the keepers of the door, to bring forth out of the temple of the Lord all the vessels that were made for Baal, and for the grove, and for all the host of heaven; and he burned them without Jerusalem in the fields of Kidron. . . . And he brake down the houses of the Sodomites, that were by the house of the Lord, where the women wove hangings for the grove.”

The word here translated “Sodomites” is the Hebrew word *Kedeshim*, meaning the “consecrated ones” (males), and it occurs again in 1 Kings XIV, 24; XV, 12; and XXII, 46. And the word translated “grove” is *Asherah*. There is some doubt, I be-

lieve, as to the exact function of these *Kedeshim* in the temple ritual, and considerable doubt as to whether the translation of the word given in our Authorized Version is justified.<sup>1</sup> It is clear, however, that these men corresponded in some way to the *Kedeshoth* or sacred women, who were—like the *Devadasis* of the Hindu temples—a kind of courtesan or prostitute dedicated to the god, and strange as it may seem to the modern mind, it is probable that they united some kind of sexual service with prophetic functions. Dr. Frazer, speaking<sup>2</sup> of the sacred slaves or *Kedeshim* in various parts of Syria, concludes that “originally no sharp line of distinction existed between the prophets and the *Kedeshim*; both were ‘men of God,’ as the prophets were constantly called; in other words they were inspired mediums, men in whom the god manifested himself from time to time by word and deed, in short, temporary incarnations of the deity. But while the prophets roved freely about the country, the *Kedeshim* appears to have been regularly attached to a sanctuary, and among the duties which they performed at the shrines there were clearly some which revolted the conscience of men imbued with a purer morality.”

As to the Asherah, or sometimes plural Asherim, translated “grove,” the most accepted opinion is that it was a wooden post or tree stripped of its branches and planted in the ground beside an altar, whether of Jehovah or other gods.<sup>3</sup> Several biblical passages, like Jeremiah II, 27, suggest that it was an emblem of Baal or of the male organ, and others (*e. g.*, Judges II, 13 & III, 7) connect it with Ashtoreth the female partner of Baal; while the weaving of hangings or garments for the “grove” suggests the combination of female with male in one effigy.<sup>4</sup> At any rate we may conclude pretty safely that the thing or things had a strongly sexual signification.

Thus it would seem that in the religious worship of the Canaanites there were male courtesans attached to the temples and inhabit-

<sup>1</sup>See Frazer's *Adonis, Attis and Osiris*, 2nd edition 1907, pp. 14, 64 note, etc.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 67.

<sup>3</sup>See Frazer's *Adonis*, pp. 14, note, etc.

<sup>4</sup>See a full consideration of this subject in *Ancient Pagan and Modern Christian Symbolism*, by Thomas Inman. (2nd edition 1874.) p. 120 *et seq.*



ing their precincts, as well as consecrated females, and that the ceremonies connected with these cults were of a markedly sexual character. These ceremonies had probably originated in an ancient worship of sexual acts as being symbolical of, and therefore favorable to, the fertility of Nature and the crops. But though they had penetrated into the Jewish temple they were detested by the more zealous adherents of Jehovah, because—for one reason at any rate—they belonged to the rival cult of the Syrian Baal and Ash-toreth, the *Kedeshim* in fact being “consecrated to the Mother of the Gods, the famous Dea Syria.”<sup>1</sup> And they were detestable, too, because they went hand in hand with the cultivation of ‘familiar spirits’ and ‘wizards’—who of course knew nothing of Jehovah! Thus we see (2 Kings XXI) that Manasseh followed the abominations of the heathen, building up the high places and the ‘groves’ and the altars for Baal. “And he made his son pass through the fire, and observed times, and used enchantments,<sup>2</sup> and dealt with familiar spirits and wizards, and wrought much wickedness. . . . and he set a graven image of the ‘grove’ in the house of the Lord.” But Josiah his grandson reversed all this, and drove the familiar spirits and the wizards out of the land, together with the *Kedeshim*.

So far with regard to Syria and the Bible, in the matter of the apparent connection of homosexuality with prophecy and priesthood. But Dr. Frazer points out the curious likeness here to customs existing to-day among the Negroes of the Slave Coast of West Africa. In that region, women, called *Kosio*, are attached to the temples as wives, priestesses and temple prostitutes of the python-god. But besides these “there are male *Kosio* as well as female *Kosio*, that is there are dedicated men as well as dedicated women, priests as well as priestesses, and the ideas and customs in regard to them seem to be similar.”<sup>3</sup> “Indeed,” he says, “the points of resemblance between the prophets of Israel and of West Africa are close and curious.”<sup>4</sup> It must be said, however, that Dr. Frazer

<sup>1</sup>See Westermarck's *Origin and Development of Our Moral Ideas*, Vol. II, p. 488.

<sup>2</sup>All this suggests the practice of some early and primitive science, and much resembles the accusations made in the thirteenth century against our Roger Bacon, pioneer of modern science.

<sup>3</sup>*Adonis*, etc., p. 60.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 66.

does not in either case insist on the inference of homosexuality. On the contrary, he rather endeavours to avoid it, and of course it would be very unreasonable to suppose any *invariable* connection of these "sacred men" with this peculiarity. At the same time the general inference in that direction—particularly in view of later facts brought forward in this paper—is strong and difficult to evade.

To proceed. Among the tribes in the neighborhood of Behring's Straits—the Kamchadales, the Chukchi, the Aleuts, Inoits, Kadiak islanders, and so forth, homosexuality is common, and its relation to shamanship or priesthood most marked and curious. Westermarck, quoting (Moral Ideas Vol. 1, p. 458) from Dr. Bogoraz, says:—"It frequently happens that, under the supernatural influence of one of their shamans, or priests, a Chukchi lad at sixteen years of age will suddenly relinquish his sex and imagine himself to be a woman. He adopts a woman's attire, lets his hair grow, and devotes himself altogether to female occupation. Furthermore, this disclaimer of his sex takes a husband into the *yurt* (hut) and does all the work which is usually incumbent on the wife, in most unnatural and voluntary subjection. . . . These abnormal changes of sex imply the most abject immorality in the community, and appear to be strongly encouraged by the shamans, who interpret such cases as an injunction of their individual deity. "Further," Westermarck says "the change of sex was usually accompanied by future shamanship; indeed nearly all the shamans were former delinquents of their sex." Again he says, "In describing the Koriaks, Krashenninnikoff makes mention of the *Ke'yev*, that is men occupying the position of concubines, and he compares them with the Kamchadale *Koe'kcuc*, as he calls them, that is men transformed into women. Every *Koe'kcuc*, he says, "is regarded as a *magician* and interpreter of dreams. . . . The *Koe'kcuc* wore women's clothes, did women's work, and were in the position of wives or concubines." And (on p. 472) "There is no indication that the North American aborigines attached any opprobrium to men who had intercourse with those members of their own sex who had assumed the dress and habits of women. In Kadiak such a companion was on the contrary regarded as a great acquisition; and the effeminate men, far from being despised, were held in repute by the people, most of them being wizards."

This connection with wizardry and religious divination is particularly insisted upon by Elie Reclus, in his *Primitive Folk* (contemporary Science Series). Speaking of the Inoits (p. 68) he says:—"Has a boy with a pretty face also a graceful demeanor? The mother no longer permits him to associate with companions of his own age, but clothes him and brings him up as a girl. Any stranger would be deceived as to his sex, and when he is about fifteen he is sold for a good round sum to a wealthy personage.<sup>1</sup> 'Choupan,' or youths of this kind are highly prized by the Konyagas. On the other hand, there are to be met with here and there among the Esquimaux or kindred populations, especially in Youkon, girls who decline marriage and maternity. Changing their sex, so to speak, they live as boys, adopting masculine manners and customs, they hunt the stag, and in the chase shrink from no danger; in fishing from no fatigue."

Reclus then says that the Choupan's commonly dedicate themselves to the priesthood; but all are not qualified for this. "To become an *angakok* it is needful to have a very marked vocation, and furthermore a character and temperament which every one has not. The priests in office do not leave the recruiting of their pupils to chance; they make choice at an early age of boys or girls, not limiting themselves to one sex—a mark of greater intelligence than is exhibited by most other priesthoods." (p. 71.) The pupil has to go through considerable ordeals:—"Disciplined by abstinence and prolonged vigils, by hardship and constraint, he must learn to endure pain stoically and to subdue his bodily desires, to make the body obey unmurmuringly the commands of the spirit. Others may be chatterers; he will be silent, as becomes the prophet and the soothsayer. At an early age the novice courts solitude. He wanders throughout the long nights across silent plains filled with the chilly whiteness of the moon; he listens to the wind moaning over the desolate fies;—and then the aurora borealis, that ardently sought occasion for 'drinking in the light,' the *angakok* must absorb all its brilliancies and splendors. . . . And now the future sorcerer is no longer a child. Many a time he has felt himself in the presence of Sidne, the Esquimaux Demeter, he has divined it by the shiver

<sup>1</sup>See also Bancroft's *Native Races of the Pacific States*, Vol. I, p. 82.



which ran through his veins, by the tingling of his flesh and the bristling of his hair. . . . He sees stars unknown to the profane; he asks the secrets of destiny from Sirius, Algol, and Altair; he passes through a series of initiations, knowing well that his spirit will not be loosed from the burden of dense matter and crass ignorance, until the moon has looked him in the face, and darted a certain ray into his eyes. At last his own Genius, evoked from the bottomless depths of existence, appears to him, having scaled the immensity of the heavens, and climbed across the abysses of the ocean. White, wan and solemn, the phantom will say to him: 'Behold me, what dost thou desire?' Uniting himself with the Double from beyond the grave, the soul of the *angakok* flies upon the wings of the wind, and quitting the body at will, sails swift and light through the universe. It is permitted to probe all hidden things, to seek the knowledge of all mysteries, in order that they may be revealed to those who have remained mortal with spirit unrefined." (p. 73.)

Allowing something for poetic and imaginative expression, the above statement of the ordeals and initiations of the *angakok*, and their connection with the previous career of the *Choupan* are well based on the observations of many authorities, as well as on their general agreement with similar facts all over the world. There is also another passage of Reclus (p. 70) on the duties of the *angakok*, which seems to throw considerable light on the already mentioned *kedeshim* and *kedeshoth* of the Syrian cults, also on the *kosio* of the Slave Coast and the early functions of the priesthood in general:—"As soon as the *choupan* has moulted into the *angakok*, the tribe confide to him the girls most suitable in bodily grace and disposition; he has to complete their education—he will perfect them in dancing and other accomplishments, and finally will initiate them into the pleasures of love. If they display intelligence, they will become seers and medicine-women, priestesses and prophetesses. The summer *kachims* (? assemblies), which are closed to the women of the community will open wide before these. It is believed that these girls would be unwholesome company if they had not been purified by commerce with a man of God."

"Among the Illinois Indians," says Westermarck (Vol. II, p. 473), "the effeminate men assist in [*i. e.*] are present at all the juggleries and the solemn dance in honor of the calumet or

sacred tobacco-pipe, for which the Indians have such a deference. . . but they are not permitted either to dance or to sing. They are called into the councils of the Indians, and nothing can be decided without their advice; for because of their extraordinary manner of living they are looked upon as *manitous*, or supernatural beings, and persons of consequence." "The Sioux, Sacs, and Fox Indians," he continues, "give once a year, or oftener, a feast to the Berdashe, or I-coo-coo-a, who is a man dressed in women's clothes, as he has been all his life." And Catlin (*North American Indians* Vol. II, p. 214) says of this Berdashe:—"For extraordinary privileges which he is known to possess, he is driven to the most servile and degrading duties, which he is not allowed to escape; and he being the only one of the tribe submitting to this disgraceful degradation is looked upon as *medicine* and sacred, and a feast is given to him annually; and initiatory to it a dance by those few young men of the tribe who can—as in the illustration—dance forward and publicly make their boast (without the denial of the *Berdashe*) that" [then follow three or four unintelligible lines of some native dialect; and then] "such and such only are allowed to enter the dance and partake of the feast."

In this connection it may not be out of place to quote Joaquin Miller (who spent his early life as a member of an Indian tribe) on the prophetic powers of these people. He says (*Life among the Modocs*, p. 360) "If there is a race of men that has the gift of prophecy or prescience I think it is the Indian. It may be a keen instinct sharpened by meditation that makes them foretell many things with such precision, but I have seen some things that looked much like the fulfillment of prophecies. They believe in the gift of prophecy thoroughly, and are never without their seers."

The Jesuit father Lafitau, who published in 1724 at Paris an extremely interesting book on the manners and customs of the North American tribes among whom he had been a missionary,<sup>1</sup> after speaking of warlike women and Amazons, says (Vol. 1, p. 53):—"If some women are found possessing virile courage, and glorying in the profession of war, which seems only suitable to men; there

<sup>1</sup>*Moeurs des Sauvages Ameriquains, comparées aux moeurs des premiers temps*, par le P. Lafitau, Paris, 1724.

exist also men so cowardly as to live like women. Among the Illinois, among the Sioux, in Louisiana, in Florida, and in Yucatan, there are found youths who adopt the garb of women and preserve it all their lives, and who think themselves honored in stooping to all their occupations; they never marry; they take part in all ceremonies in which religion seems to be concerned; and this profession of an extraordinary life causes them to pass for beings of a superior order, and above the common run of mankind. Would not these be the same kind of folk as the Asiatic worshippers of Cybele, or those Easterns of whom Julius Firmicus speaks (*Lib. de Errore prof. Relig.*), who consecrated to the Goddess of Phrygia, or to Venus Urania, certain priests, who dressed as women, who affected an effeminate countenance, who painted their faces, and disguised their true sex under garments borrowed from the sex which they wished to counterfeit."

Certainly this belief in some kind of relation between homosexuality and divination or sorcery (or the priestly office) is very widespread. Westermarck (p. 477) mentions the ancient Scandinavians as regarding passive homosexuals in the light of sorcerers; and refers (p. 484 note) to Thomas Falkner, who in his *Description of Patagonia*, p. 117, says that among the Patagonians "the wizards are of both sexes. The male wizards are obliged (as it were) to leave their sex, and to dress themselves in female apparel, and are not permitted to marry, though the female ones or witches may. They are generally chosen for this office when they are children, and a preference is always shown to those who at that early time of life discover an effeminate disposition. They are clothed very early in female attire, and presented with the drum and rattles belonging to the profession they are to follow."

With regard to the attribution of homosexuality also to female wizards or witches I believe that, rightly or wrongly, this was very common in Europe a few centuries ago. Leo Africanus (1492) in his description of Morocco<sup>1</sup> says, "The third kind of diviners are women-witches, which are affirmed to have familiarity with divels. Changing their voices they fain the divell to speak within them:

<sup>1</sup>Hakluyt Society, 3 vols. Vol. II, p. 458



then they which come to enquire ought with greate feare and trembling (to) aske these vile and abominable witches such questions as they mean to propound, and lastly, offering some fee unto the divell, they depart. But the wiser and honester sort of people call these women *Sahacat*, which in Latin signifieth *Fricatrices*, because they have a damnable custom to commit unlawful venerie among themselves, which I cannot express in any modester terms. If faire women come unto then at any time, these abominable witches will burn in lust towards them, no otherwise than lustie youngsters do towards young maides, and will in the divel's behalf demande for a rewarde, that they may lie with them; and so by this means it often falleth out that thinking thereby to fulfill the divel's command they lie with the witches. Yea some there are which being allured with this abominable vice, will desire the companie of those witches" (and to that end, he explains, deceive their husbands). Whether this is all true or not—and probably it is quite vulgarly exaggerated—it shows the kind of thing that was believed at that time about witches.

No doubt this list of cases connecting homosexuality with sorcery and priesthood might be somewhat indefinitely extended, but we need not attempt to cover the whole ground. In some cases the customs are accompanied by a change of dress, but not by any means always.

Speaking of the Pelew Islanders, Dr. Frazer<sup>1</sup> attributes the adoption by the priests of female attire to the fact that "it often happens that a goddess chooses a man, not a woman, for her minister and inspired mouthpiece. When that is so, the favored man is thenceforth regarded and treated as a woman." And he continues—"This pretended change of sex under the inspiration of a female spirit perhaps explains a custom widely spread among savages, in accordance with which some men dress as women and act as women through life."

This explanation is certainly not very convincing—though it is just possible that in certain cases of men of this kind in early times, the feminine part of their natures may have personified itself, and presented itself to them as a vision of a female spirit or goddess;

<sup>1</sup>*Adonis*, etc., p. 428.

and thus the explanation might be justified. But anyhow it should not be overlooked that the same impulse (for men to dress as women, and women to dress as men) perseveres to-day in quite a large percentage of our modern civilized populations; and whatever its explanations, the impulse is often enormously powerful, and its satisfaction a source of great delight. It must also not be overlooked, in dealing with this complex and difficult subject, that the mere fact of a person delighting to adopt the garb of the opposite sex does not in itself prove that his or her love-tendency is abnormal—*i. e.*, cross-dressing does not *prove* homosexuality. There are not a few cases of men in the present day (and presumably the same in past times) who love to dress as women, and yet are perfectly normal in their sex-relations; and therefore too sweeping generalizations on this subject must be avoided.<sup>1</sup>

On the whole, however, cross-dressing must be taken as a general indication of, and a cognate phenomenon to, homosexuality; and its wide prevalence in early times, especially in connection with the priesthood, must give us much matter for thought. Dr. Frazer in his *Adonis, Attis and Osiris*, continuing the passage I have just quoted, says:—"These unsexed creatures often, perhaps generally, profess the arts of sorcery and healing, they communicate with spirits and are regarded sometimes with awe and sometimes with contempt, as beings of a higher or lower order than common folk. Often they are dedicated or trained to their vocation from childhood. Effeminate sorcerers or priests of this sort are found among the Sea Dyaks of Borneo, the Bugis of South Celebes, the Patagonians of South America. . . . In Madagascar we hear of effeminate men who wore female attire and acted as women, thinking thereby to do God service. In the kingdom of Congo there was a sacrificial priest who commonly dressed as a woman and gloried in the title of the grandmother."

And so on. We need not, I think, delay further over the evidence, but proceed to discuss the meaning and explanation of the facts presented.

<sup>1</sup>See, in these connections, Dr. Hirschfeld's remarkable book "*Die Transvestiten*" (Berlin 1910); also *Die Konträre Sexual-empfindung* by Dr. A. Moll, edition 1893, pp. 82-90.

## II.

There seem to me to be two possible and not unreasonable theories on the subject. The first is that there really is a connection between the homosexual temperament and divinatory or unusual psychic powers; the second is (that there is no such particular connection, but) that the idea of sorcery or witchcraft naturally and commonly springs up round the ceremonials of an old religion when that religion is being superseded by a new one. This is of course a well-recognized fact. The gods of one religion become the devils of its successor; the poetic rites of one age become the black magic of the next. But in the case of the primitive religions of the earth their ceremonials were—for reasons which we need not now consider—very largely sexual, and even homosexual. Consequently the homosexual rites, which were most foreign to the later religionists and most disturbing to their ideas, associated themselves *most* strongly with the notion of sorcery and occult powers.

For myself I am inclined to accept both explanations, and—leaving out of course the clause in brackets in the second—to combine them. I think there *is* an organic connection between the homosexual temperament and unusual psychic or divinatory powers; but I think also that the causes mentioned in the second explanation have in many cases led to an exaggerated belief in such connection, and have given it a sorcerous or demoniac aspect.

To take the second point first. Just as, according to Darwin, the sharpest rivalry occurs between a species and the closely allied species from which it has sprung, so in any religion there is the fiercest theological hatred against the form which has immediately preceded it. Early Christianity could never say enough against the Pagan cults of the old world (partly for the very reason that it embodied so much of their ceremonial and was in many respects their lineal descendant). They were the work and inspiration of the devil. Their Eucharists and baptismal rites and initiations—so strangely and diabolically similar to the Christian rites—were sheer black magic; their belief in the sacredness of sex mere filthiness. Similarly the early Protestants could never say malignant things enough against the Roman Catholics; or the Secularists in their turn against the Protestants. In all these cases there is an



element of fear—fear because the thing supposed to have been left behind lies after all so close, and is always waiting to reassert itself—and this fear invests the hated symbol or person with a halo of devilish potency. Think, for instance, what sinister and magical powers and influence have been commonly ascribed to the Roman Catholic priests in the ordinary Protestant parlors and circles!

It is easy, therefore, to understand that when the Jews established their worship of Jehovah as a great reaction against the primitive nature-cults of Syria—and in that way to become in time the germ of Christianity—the first thing they did was to denounce the priests and satellites of Baal-Peor and Ashtoreth as wizards and sorcerers, and wielders of devilish faculties. These cults were frankly sexual—probably the most intimate meaning of them, as religions, being the glory and sacredness of sex; but the Jews (like the later Christians) blinding themselves to this aspect, were constrained to see in sex only filthiness, and in its religious devotees persons in league with Beelzebub and the powers of darkness. And of course the homosexual elements in these cults, being the most foreign to the new religion, stood out as the *most* sorcerous and the most magical part of them. Westermarck points out (*Moral Ideas*, II, 489) that the Mediæval Christianity constantly associated homosexuality with heresy—to such a degree in fact that the French word *herite* or *heretique* was sometimes used in both connections; and that *bougre* or *Bulgarian* was commonly used in both, though to begin with it only denoted a sect of religious heretics who came from Bulgaria. And he thinks that the violent reprobation and punishment of homosexuality arose more from its connection in the general mind with heresy than from direct aversion in the matter—more in fact from religious motives than from secular ones.

But connecting with all this, we must not neglect the theory so ably worked out by Prof. Karl Pearson among others—namely that the primitive religions were not only sexual in character but that they were largely founded on an early matriarchal order of society, in which women had the predominant sway—descent being traced through them, and tribal affairs largely managed by them, and in which the chief deities were goddesses, and the priests and prophets mainly females. Exactly how far such an order or society really extended in the past is apparently a doubtful question; but

that there are distinct traces of such matriarchal institutions in certain localities and among some peoples seems to be quite established. Karl Pearson, assuming the real prevalence of these institutions in early times points out, reasonably enough, that when Christianity became fairly established matriarchal rites and festivals, lingering on in out-of-the-way places and among the peasantry, would at once be interpreted as being devilish and sorcerous in character, and the women (formerly priestesses) who conducted them and perhaps recited snatches of ancient half-forgotten rituals, would be accounted witches. "We have, therefore," he says,<sup>1</sup> "to look upon the witch as essentially the degraded form of the old priestess, cunning in the knowledge of herbs and medicine, jealous of the rites of the goddess she serves, and preserving in spells and incantations such wisdom as early civilization possessed." This civilization, he explains, included the "observing of times and seasons," the knowledge of weather-lore, the invention of the broom, the distaff, the cauldron, the pitchfork, the domestication of the goat, the pig, the cock and the hen, and so forth—all which things became symbols of the witch in later times, simply because originally they were the inventions of woman and the insignia of her office, and so the religious symbols of the Mother-goddess and her cult.

The connection of all this with homosexual customs is not at once clear; but it has been suggested—though I am not sure that Karl Pearson himself supports this—that the primitive religions of the Matriarchate may have ultimately led to men-priests dressing in female attire. For when the matriarchal days were passing away, and men were beginning to assert their predominance, it still may have happened that the old religious customs lingering on may have induced men to simulate the part of women and to dress as priestesses, or at least have afforded them an excuse for so doing.<sup>2</sup> In this way it seems just possible that the pendulum-swing of society from the matriarchate to the patriarchate may have been accompanied by some degree of crisis and confusion between the functions of the sexes, homosexual customs and tendencies may have come to

<sup>1</sup>*The Chances of Death and other studies*, by Karl Pearson, 2 vols., 1897. Vol. II, p. 13.

<sup>2</sup>See above, pp. 13 and 14.

the fore, and the connection of homosexuality with the priesthood may seem to be accounted for.

This explanation, however, though it certainly has a claim to be mentioned, seems to me too risky and insecure for very much stress to be laid upon it. In the first place the extent and prevalence of the matriarchal order of society is a matter still very much disputed, and to assume that at any early period of human history the same was practically universal would be unjustified. In the second place granting the existence of the matriarchal order and its transmutation into the patriarchal, the connection of this change with the development of homosexual customs is still only a speculation and a theory, supported by little direct evidence. On the other hand, the facts to be explained—namely, the connection of homosexuality with priesthood and divination—seem to be world-wide and universal. Therefore, though we admit that the causes mentioned—namely the attribution of magical qualities to old religious rites, and the introduction of feminine inversions and disguises through the old matriarchal custom—may account in part for the facts, and in particular may in certain localities have given them a devilish or sorcerous complexion, yet I think we must look deeper for the root-explanations of the whole matter, and consider whether there may not be some fundamental causes in human nature itself.

### III.

I have already said that I think there is an original connection of some kind between homosexuality and divination; but in saying this of course I do not mean that everywhere and always the one is connected with the other, or that the relationship between the two is extremely well marked; but I contend that a connection can be traced and that on *a priori* grounds its existence is quite probable.

And first with regard to actual observation of such a connection, the fact of the widespread belief in it which I have already noted as existing among the primitive tribes of the earth; and their founding of all sorts of customs on that belief, must count for something. Certainly the mere existence of a widespread belief among early and superstitious peoples—as for instance that an eclipse is caused by a dragon swallowing the sun—does not prove its truth; but in the



case we are considering the matter is well within the range of ordinary observation, and the constant connection between the *choupan* and the *angakok*, the *ke'yev* and the *shaman*, the *berdashe* and the witch-doctor, the *ganymede* and the temple-priest, and their correspondence all over the world, the *basir* among the Dyaks, the boy-priests in the temples of Peru, the same in Buddhist temples of Ceylon, Burma and China—all these cases seem to point to some underlying fact, of the fitness or adaptation of the invert for priestly or divinatory functions. And though the tendency already alluded to, of a later religion to ascribe devilish potency to earlier cults, must certainly in many instances shed a sinister or sorcerous glamour over the invert, yet this exaggeration need not blind us to the existence of a residual fact behind it; and anyhow to a great many of the cases just mentioned it does not apply at all, since in them the question of one religion superseding another does not enter.

To come to more recent times, the frequency with which accusations of homosexuality have been launched against the religious orders and monks of the Catholic Church, the Knights Templars, and even the ordinary priests and clerics, must give us pause. Nor need we overlook the fact that in Protestant Britain the curate and the parson quite often appear to belong to some 'third sex' which is neither wholly masculine nor wholly feminine!

Granting, then, that the connection in question is to a certain degree indicated by the anthropological facts which we already possess—is there, we may ask, any rational ground for expecting this connection *a priori* and from psychological considerations? I think there is.

In the first place all science now compels us to admit the existence of the homosexual temperament as a fact of human nature, and an important fact; and not only so, but to perceive that it is widely spread among the various races of the earth, and extends back to the earliest times of which we have anything like historical knowledge. We can no longer treat it as a mere local and negligible freak, or put it in the category of a sinful and criminal disposition to be stamped out at all costs. We feel that it must have some real significance. The question is what that may be. The following is a suggestion that may cover part of the ground, though not I think, the whole.

In the primitive societies the men (the quite normal men) are the warriors and hunters. These are their exclusive occupations. The women (the normal women) attend to domestic work and agriculture, and their days are consumed in those labors. But in the evolution of society there are many more functions to be represented than those simple ones just mentioned. And we may almost think that if it had not been for the emergence of intermediate types—the more or less feminine man and similarly the more or less masculine woman—social life might never have advanced beyond these primitive phases. But the non-warlike men and the non-domestic women necessarily sought new outlets for their energies. They sought different occupations from those of the quite ordinary man and woman—as in fact they do to-day; and so they became the initiators of new activities. They became inventors and teachers of arts and crafts, or wizards (as they would be considered) and sorcerers; they became diviners and seers, or revealers of the gods and religion; they became medicine-men and healers, prophets and prophetesses; and so ultimately laid the foundation of the priesthood, and of science, literature and art. Thus—on this view, and as might not unreasonably be expected—it was primarily a variation in the intimate sex-nature of the human being which led to these important differentiations in his social life and external activities.

In various ways we can see the likelihood of this thesis, and the probability of the intermediate man or woman becoming a forward force in human evolution. In the first place, as just mentioned, not wholly belonging to either of the two great progenitive branches of the human race, his nature would not find complete satisfaction in the activities of either branch, and he would necessarily create a new sphere of some kind for himself. Secondly, finding himself *different* from the great majority, sought after by some and despised by others, now an object of contumely and now an object of love and admiration, he would be forced to *think*. His mind turned inwards on himself would be forced to tackle the problem of his own nature, and afterwards the problem of the world and of outer nature. He would become one of the first thinkers, dreamers, discoverers. Thirdly, some of the Intermediates (though certainly not all) combining the emotionality of the feminine with the

practicality of the masculine, and many other qualities and powers of both sexes, as well as much of their experience, would undoubtedly be greatly superior in ability to the rest of their tribe, and making forward progress in the world of thought and imagination would become inventors, teachers, musicians, medicine-men and priests; while their early science and art (for such it would be)—prediction of rain, determination of seasons, observation of stars, study of herbs, creation of chants and songs, rude drawings and so forth, would be accounted quite magical and divinatory.

Finally, and in the fourth place, I believe that at this stage an element of what might really be called divination would come in. I believe that the blending of the masculine and feminine temperaments would in some of these cases produce persons whose perceptions would be so subtle and complex and rapid as to come under the head of genius, persons of intuitive mind who would perceive things without knowing how, and follow far concatenations of causes and events without concerning themselves about the *why*—diviners and prophets in a very real sense. And these persons—whether they prophesied downfall and disaster, or whether they urged their people onward to conquest and victory, or whether by acute combinations of observation and experience they caught at the healing properties of herbs or determined the starry influences on the seasons and the crops—in almost all cases would acquire and did acquire a strange reputation for sanctity and divinity—arising partly perhaps out of the homosexual taboo, but also out of their real possession and command of a double-engine psychic power.

The double life and nature certainly, in many cases of inverts observed to-day, seems to give to them an extraordinary humanity and sympathy, together with a remarkable power of dealing with human beings. It may possibly also point to a further degree of evolution than usually attained, and a higher order of consciousness, very imperfectly realized of course, but indicated. This interaction in fact, between the masculine and the feminine, this mutual illumination of logic and intuition, this combination of action and meditation, may not only raise and increase the power of each of these faculties, but it may give the mind a new quality, and a new power of perception corresponding to the blending of subject and object in consciousness. It may possibly lead to the development of



that third order of perception which has been called the cosmic consciousness, and which may also be termed divination. "He who knows the masculine," says Lao-tsze, "and at the same time keeps to the feminine, will be the whole world's channel. Eternal virtue will not depart from him, and he will return again to the state of an infant." To the state of an infant!—that is, he will become undifferentiated from Nature, who is his mother, and who will lend him all her faculties.

It is not of course to be supposed that the witch-doctors and diviners of barbarian tribes have in general reached to the high order of development just described, yet it is noticeable, in the slow evolution of society, how often the late and high developments have been indicated in the germ in primitive stages; and it may be so in this case. Very interesting in this connection is the passage already quoted (page 7) from Elie Reclus about the initiations of the Esquimaux *angakok* and the appearance to him of his own Genius or Double from the world beyond, for almost exactly the same thing is supposed to take place in the initiation of the religious *yogi* in India—except that the god in this latter case appears to the pupil in the form of his teacher or *guru*. And how often in the history of the Christian saints has the divinity in the form of Jesus or Mary appeared to the strenuous devotee, apparently as the culminating result of his intense effort and aspiration, and of the opening out of a new plane of perception in his mind! It may be that with every great onward push of the growing soul, and every great crisis in which as it were a sheath or a husk falls away from the expanding bud, the new order within, the new revelation, the new form of life, is seen for a moment as a Vision in glorious state of a divine being or God.<sup>1</sup>

#### IV.

This leads to another consideration, which ought not to be omitted here, as germane to the subject—namely, the frequency with which, among early peoples, the gods are represented—both in their forms and in their manners and customs—as hermaphrodite

<sup>1</sup>It is probable also that the considerable degree of continence, to which many homosexuals are by nature or external necessity compelled, contributes to this visionary faculty.

or bisexual. For clearly bisexuality links on to homosexuality, and the fact that this characteristic was ascribed to the gods suggests that in the popular mind it must have played a profound and important part in human life. I will therefore, in conclusion, give some instances of this divine bisexuality.

Brahm, in the Hindu mythology, is often represented as two-sexed. Originally he was the sole Being. But, "delighting not to be alone he wished for the existence of another, and at once he became such, as male and female embraced. He caused this his one self to fall in twain."<sup>1</sup> Siva, also, the most popular of the Hindu divinities, is originally bi-sexual. In the interior of the great rockhewn Temple at Elephanta, the career of Siva is carved in successive panels. And on the first he appears as a complete full-length human being conjoining the two sexes in one—the left side of the figure (which represents the female portion) projecting into a huge breast and hip, while the side right is man-like in outline, and in the centre (though now much defaced) the organs of both sexes. In the second panel, however, his evolution or differentiation is complete, and he is portrayed as complete male with his consort Sakti or Parvati standing, as perfect female beside him.<sup>2</sup> There are many such illustrations in Hindu literature and art, representing the gods in their double or bi-sexual role—*e. g.*, as Brahma Ardhanarisa, Siva Ardhanarisa (half male and half female).<sup>3</sup> And these again are interesting in connection with the account of Elohim in the 1st chapter of Genesis, and the supposition that he was such an androgynous deity. For we find (v. 27) that "Elohim created man in his own image, in the image of Elohim created he him, *male and female* created he them." And many commentators have maintained that this not only meant that the first man was hermaphrodite, but that the Creator also was of that nature. In the Midrasch we find that Rabbi Samuel-bar-Nachman said that "Adam, when God had created him, was a man-woman (androgyne);" and the great and learned Mai-

<sup>1</sup>Quoted from the Yajur-Veda. See *Bible Folk-lore: a study in Comp. Mythology*. London 1884, p. 104.

<sup>2</sup>See *Adams Peak to Elephanta*, by E. Carpenter, 1903, p. 308.

<sup>3</sup>See drawings in *Ancient Pagan and Modern Christian Symbolism* by Thomas Inman, London, 1874.

monides supported this, saying that "Adam and Eve were created together, conjoined by their backs, but this double being God divided and taking one half (Eve) gave her to the other half (Adam) for a mate." And the Rabbi Manasseh-ben-Israel, following this up, explained that when "God took one of Adam's ribs to make Eve with," it should rather be rendered "one of his sides"—that is, that he divided the double Adam, and one half was Eve.<sup>1</sup>

In the Brihadaranyaka Upanishad (1 Adhyaya, 4th Brahmana) the evolution of Brahm is thus described<sup>2</sup>—"In the beginning of this [world] was Self alone, in the shape of a person. . . . But he felt no delight. . . . He wished for a second. He was so large as man and wife together [*i. e.*, he included male and female]. He then made this his Self to fall in two; and thence arose husband and wife. Therefore, Yagnavalkya said: "We two are thus (each of us) like half a shell [or as some translate, like a split pea]." The singular resemblance of this account to what has been said above about the creation of Adam certainly suggests the idea that Jehovah, like Brahm (and like Baal and other Syrian gods), was conceived of as double-sexed, and that primitive man was also conceived of as like nature. The author (Ralston Skinner) of *The Source of Measures* says (p. 159) "The two words of which Jehovah is composed make up the original idea of male-female of the birth-originator. For the Hebrew letter Jod (or J) was the *membrum virile*, and Hovah was Eve, the mother of all living, or the procreatrix Earth and Nature."<sup>3</sup>

The tradition that mankind was anciently hermaphrodite is world-old. It is referred to in Plato's *Banquet*, where Aristophanes says:—"Anciently the nature of mankind was not the same as now, but different. For at first there were three sexes of human beings not two only, namely male and female, as at present, but a third besides, common to both the others—of which the name remains, though the sex itself has vanished. For the androgynous sex then

<sup>1</sup>These and some other references are taken from the learned and careful study "Ueber die androgynische Idee des Lebens" by Dr. von Römer of Amsterdam, which is to be found in Vol. 5 of the *Jahrbuch für Sexuelle Zwischenstufen*. Leipzig, 1903.

<sup>2</sup>*Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XV, p. 85.

<sup>3</sup>See H. P. Blavatsky, *Secret Doctrine*, Vol. II, p. 132, quoted in Vol. V, *Jahrbuch für S. L.*, p. 76.



existed, both male and female; but now it only exists as a name of reproach." He then describes how all these three sorts of human beings were originally double, and conjoined (as above) back to back; until Jupiter, jealous of his supremacy, divided them vertically "as people cut apples before they preserve them, or as they cut eggs with hairs"—after which, of course, these divided and imperfect folk ran about over the earth, ever seeking their lost halves, to be joined to them again.

I have mentioned the Syrian Baal as being sometimes represented as double-sexed (apparently in combination with Astarte). In the Septuagint (Hos. II, 8, and Zeph. 1, 4) he is called  $\eta$  Baal (feminine) and Arnobius tells us that his worshippers invoked him thus<sup>1</sup> "Hear us, Baal! whether thou be a god or goddess." Similarly Bel and other Babylonian gods were often represented as androgyne.<sup>2</sup> Mithras among the Persians is spoken of by the Christian controversialist Firmicus as two-sexed, and by Herodotus (Bk. 1, c. 131) as identified with a goddess, while there are innumerable Mithraic monuments on which appear the symbols of two deities, male and female combined.<sup>3</sup> Even Venus or Aphrodite was sometimes worshipped in the double form. "In Cyprus," says Dr. Frazer in his *Adonis*, etc. (p. 432, note), "there was a bearded and masculine image of Venus (probably Astarte) in female attire: according to Philochorus the deity thus represented was the moon, and sacrifices were offered to him or her by men clad as women, and by women clad as men (see Macrobius *Saturn* III, 7. 2)." This bearded female deity is sometimes also spoken of as Aphroditus, or as Venus Mylitta. The worship of this bearded goddess was mainly in Syria and Cyprus. But in Egypt also a representation of a bearded Isis has been found,—with infant Horus in her lap;<sup>4</sup> while again there are a number of representations (from papyri) of the goddess Neith in androgyne form, with a male member (erected). And again, curiously enough, the Norse Freya, or Friga, corresponding to Venus,

<sup>1</sup>Inman's *Ancient Pagan and Modern Christian Symbolism*, Trubner (1874), p. 119.

<sup>2</sup>*Pagan Christs*, 1908, by John M. Robertson (1908), p. 308.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 307.

<sup>4</sup>See illustration *Jahrbuch für S. Z.*, Vol. V, p. 732.

was similarly figured. Dr. von Römer says:<sup>1</sup>—"Just as the Greeks had their Aphroditos as well as Aphrodite so the Scandinavians had their Friggo as well as their Friga. This divinity, too, was androgyne. Friga, to whom the 6th day of the week was dedicated, was sometimes thought of as hermaphrodite. She was represented as having the members of both sexes, standing by a column with a sword in her right hand, and in her left a bow."

In the Orphic hymns we have:—

"Zeus was the first of all, Zeus last, the lord of the lightning;  
Zeus was the head, the middle, from him all things were created;  
Zeus was Man, and again Zeus was the Virgin Eternal."

And in another passage, speaking of Adonis:—

"Hear me, who pray to thee, hear me O many-named and best of deities,  
Thou, with thy gracious hair . . . both maiden and youth, Adonis."

Again with regard to the latter, Ptolemaeus Hephaestius (according to Photius) writes:—"They say that the androgyne Adonis fulfilled the part of a man for Aphrodite, but for Apollo the part of a wife."<sup>2</sup>

Dionysus, one of the most remarkable figures in the Greek Mythology, is frequently represented as androgyne. Euripides in his *Bacchae* calls him "feminine-formed" (θηγύρορφος) or thelumphos, and the Orphic hymns double-sexed (διφής) or diphues; and Aristides in his discourse on Dionysus says:—"Thus the God is both male and female. His form corresponds to his nature, since everywhere in himself he is like a double being; for among young men he is a maiden, and among maidens a young man, and among men a beardless youth overflowing with vitality." In the museum at Naples there is a very fine sculptured head of Dionysos, which though bearded has a very feminine expression, and is remindful of the traditional head of Christ. "In legend and art," says Dr. Frazer,<sup>3</sup> "there are clear traces of an effeminate Dionysus, and in some of his rites and processions men wore female attire. Similar things are reported of Bacchus, who was, of course, another form of Dionysus. Even Hercules, that most mas-

<sup>1</sup>See his study already quoted, *Jahrbuch*, pp. 735-744.

<sup>2</sup>See *Jahrbuch*, as above, pp. 806, 807 and 809.

<sup>3</sup>*Adonis, etc.*, p. 432.

culine figure, was said to have dressed as a woman for three years, during which he was the slave of Omphale, queen of Lydia. "If we suppose," says Dr. Frazer,<sup>1</sup> "that queen Omphale, like queen Semiramis, was nothing but the great Asiatic goddess, or one of her Avatars, it becomes probable that the story of the womanish Hercules of Lydia preserves a reminiscence of a line or college of effeminate priests who, like the eunuch priests of the Syrian goddess, dressed as women in imitation of their goddess, and were supposed to be inspired by her. The probability is increased by the practice of the priests of Heracles at Antimachia in Cos, who, as we have just seen, actually wore female attire when they were engaged in their sacred duties. Similarly at the vernal mysteries of Hercules in Rome the men were draped in the garments of women."

Such instances could be rather indefinitely multiplied. Apollo is generally represented with a feminine—sometimes with an extremely feminine—bust and figure. The great hero Achilles passed his youth among women, and in female disguise. Every one knows the recumbent marble Hermaphrodite in the Louvre. There are also in the same collection two or three elegant bronzes of Aphrodite-like female figures in the standing position—but of masculine sex. What is the explanation of all this?

It is evident that the conception of double sex, or of a sex combining the characters of male and female, haunted the minds of early peoples. Yet we have no reason for supposing that such a combination, in any complete and literal sense, ever existed. Modern physiological investigation has never produced a single case of a human being furnished with the complete organs of both sexes, and capable of fulfilling the functions of both. And the unfortunate malformations which do exist in this direction are too obviously abortive and exceptional to admit of their being generalized or exalted into any kind of norm or ideal. All we can say is that—though in the literal sense no double forms exist—certainly a vast number of intermediate forms of male and female are actually found, which are double in the sense that the complete organs of one sex are conjoined with some or nearly all of the (secondary) characters of the other sex; and that we have every reason to believe that these

<sup>1</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 431.



intermediate types have existed in considerable numbers from the remotest antiquity. That being so, it is possible that the observation or influence of these intermediate types led to a tentative and confused idealization of a double type.

Anyhow the fact remains—that these idealizations of the double type are so numerous. And it is interesting to notice that while they begin in early times with being merely grotesque and symbolical, they end in the later periods by becoming artistic and gracious and approximated to the real and actual. The Indian Siva with his right side masculine and his left side feminine is in no way beautiful or attractive; any more than Brahma with twenty arms and twenty legs. And the same may be said of the bearded Egyptian Isis or the bearded Syrian Aphrodite. These were only rude and inartistic methods of conveying an idea. The later spirit, however, found a better way of expression. It took its cue from the variations of type to be seen every day in the actual world; and instead of representing the Persian Mithra as a two-sexed monster, it made him a young *man*, but of very feminine outline. The same with the Greek Apollo; while on the other hand the female who is verging toward the male type is represented by Artemis or even by the Amazons.

It may be said:—we can understand this representation of intermediate forms from actual life, but we do not see why such mingling of the sexes should be ascribed to the gods, unless it might be from a merely fanciful tendency to personify the two great powers of nature in one being—in which case it is strange that the tendency should have been so universal. To this we may reply that probably the reason or reasons for this tendency must be accounted quite deep-rooted and anything but fanciful. One reason, it seems to me, is the psychological fact that in the deeps of human nature (as represented by Brahm and Siva in the Hindu philosophy, by Zeus in the Orphic Hymns, by Mithra in the Zend-avesta, etc.) the sex-temperament is undifferentiated;<sup>1</sup> and it is only in its later and more external and partial manifestations that it branches decidedly into male and female; and that, therefore, in endeavoring through religion to represent the root facts of life, there was always a tendency

<sup>1</sup>Compare the undifferentiated sex-tendencies of boys and girls at puberty and shortly after.

to cultivate and honor hermaphroditism, and to ascribe some degree of this quality to heroes and divinities. The other possible reason is that as a matter of fact the great leaders and heroes *did* often exhibit this blending of masculine and feminine qualities and habits in their actual lives, and that therefore at some later period, when exalted to divinities, this blending of qualities was strongly ascribed to them and was celebrated in the rites and ceremonies of their religion and their temples. The feminine traits in genius (as in a Shelley or a Byron) are well marked in the present day. We have only to go back to the Persian Bâb of the last century<sup>1</sup> or to a St. Francis or even to a Jesus of Nazareth, to find the same traits present in founders and leaders of religious movements in historical times. And it becomes easy to suppose the same again of those early figures—who once probably were men—these Apollos, Bud-dhas, Dionysus, Osiris, and so forth—to suppose that they too were somewhat bi-sexual in temperament, and that it was really largely owing to that fact that they were endowed with far-reaching powers and became leaders of mankind. In either case—whichever reason is adopted—it corroborates the general thesis and argument of this paper.

<sup>1</sup>Ali Muhammed, who called himself the Bâb (or Gate), was born at Shiraz in 1820. In 1844 he commenced preaching his gospel, which was very like that of Jesus, and which now has an immense following. In 1850 he was shot, at Tabriz, as a malefactor, and his beloved disciple Mirza Muhammed Ali, refusing to leave him, was shot with him.

## RELIGION AND IMMORALITY.

By JOSIAH MORSE, PH. D.,

*George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, Tenn.*

During the recent investigation of the "white slave trade" there was disclosed, among other painfully interesting things, the fact that the owner of a number of disorderly houses in Chicago and one of the largest dealers in this horrible business was president of an orthodox synagogue. Also that the "slaves," together with their cadets,—the thieves and gamblers and petty criminals who live upon their wages of sin,—have houses of worship, in which they hold regular religious services adhering strictly to the ritual; they own burial-places in which the interments are made in the prescribed religious manner, and, for the most part, they piously observe the Sabbath, all holy days and many of the religious precepts of their particular sects. Outwardly, at least, no difference can be discerned between them and moral people in the matter of religious observances.

At first blush, this impresses one as unspeakable mockery and desecration raised to the highest point, but further and deeper reflection makes it evident that of the many fallacies and errors of mankind, none has continued uninterruptedly through so many centuries, or been so widespread among the nations as that which regards religion and morality as bearing a Siamese twinlike relationship to each other. The source of this fallacy is, perhaps, the same as that from which so many other fallacies spring, namely, superficial observation and hasty conclusion. From the fact that the religious expressions of all peoples, whether written or spoken, contain moral precepts for the guidance of the multitude and abound in descriptions of heaven and hell, and rewards and punishments given for good and bad behaviour, it is inferred that religion and morality are necessarily and inseparably related. This, too, may be the explanation of the origin of that other error, but recently corrected after a long and



bitter warfare, that theology and science are inseparable. The religious literature of all peoples has much to say on problems that now belong peculiarly to science and philosophy. Hence the herculean struggle that was necessary before the latter could free themselves from the grip of theology. The first discoverers of the error of these tenets were led by the violence of their reaction to the equally fallacious conclusions that since ethics and science are independent of theology and oftentimes at variance with it, therefore religion is a snare and a delusion, or, worse still, a fraud invented by priests and rulers in order to frighten the credulous masses into complacent subjection to their yokes. Thus, Hobbes defined religion as "superstition born of fear and ignorance and sanctioned by the State," and Shelley declared it as one of his missions "to unveil the religious frauds by which nations have been deluded into submission." And so on for a host of eighteenth century writers belonging to this school.

The trouble on both sides seems to be a misunderstanding of the meaning and essence of religion. What is needed most of all is a thoroughgoing psychological analysis of the religious experience as such, *i. e.*, as differentiated from its objective expressions and from theology, with both of which it is usually confused. To be sure, hundreds of definitions of religion have been offered, but no two exactly agree, and all degrees of vagueness and confusion obtain. In general, it may be said that some writers define religion in terms of belief, some in terms of feeling, others in terms of will or conduct, and a few make it a composite of all these elements. Few, if any, seem to have realized clearly that religion is a human experience, not essentially unlike other emotional or spiritual experiences of man, such as love and hope and reverence, and the feeling of awe, and the sense of the sublime, and the yearning for the beautiful-good, the feeling of dependence, the need of help, etc., and that therefore it is as universal and as ineradicable as rational life itself. When understood in this larger sense, it is seen that while man may come to deny all the dogmas and doctrines contained in the creeds, he cannot cease to be religious on appropriate occasions, for the reason that his beliefs or disbeliefs do not affect his ability as a human being to experience the above-named states. Atheists, agnostics and indifferentists, "the men and women in whose lives God is a negligible quantity, who live without Him satisfied, and die without Him

happy," who care nothing for immortality or post-mundane matters, are frequently the most religious persons, their own assertions to the contrary notwithstanding. Religion is not something that can be possessed and lost and found again. It is not a perduring entity, but rather a passing state of consciousness, vivid, intense and soul-stirring at the time of experience, and afterwards cherished in memory as one of the few indescribably happy or sad experiences of life. Such a state of consciousness may be occasioned in the serious-minded by a betrothal, a birth, or death, a great calamity, a cataclysm of nature, a happy turn of fortune, an intense yearning or desire, or its realization, a need of help from a præterhuman source, "communion with Nature," star-gazing, soul-searching, or any other phenomenon or event that melts the heart, excites the will, or otherwise profoundly affects the elemental consciousness of man.

The religious is the rarest and grandest of all experiences, not the common, everyday one it is so often supposed to be. In the daily routine of our lives, taken up so much with automatic and habitual actions, petty cares and worries, social duties and pleasures, with money-making and position-holding or advancing, and the thousand and one other things that make up life, we are anything but religious. Those who are religious continuously are madmen, like the unfortunates who are obsessed by one overmastering idea, impulse or desire. Such an one, for example, was the Persian dervish, mentioned by Professor James, who "had kept his vow for more than thirty years never to employ his organs of speech otherwise than in uttering everlastingly the name of his favorite 'Ali, Ali!' In his own home, speaking with his wife, children and friends, no other word but 'Ali!' ever passed his lips. If he wanted food or drink or anything else, he expressed his wants still by repeating 'Ali!' Latterly his zeal assumed such tremendous proportions that, like a madman, he would race the whole day, up and down the streets of the town, throwing his stick high up into the air, and shriek all the while, at the top of his voice, Ali!'" During the Middle Ages, the monasteries and deserts and caves held many such religious madmen, since canonized, who employed equally grotesque and oftentimes inhumanly cruel means to exclude from their consciousness all ideas but that of God. Perhaps the above characterization of these religiouses is wrong. Perhaps their sainthood was far removed from insanity. If so, it

is equally true that it was as far removed from normality, for normal men enjoy a variety of experiences, and their streams of consciousness resemble more the Cataract of Lodore than the still waters of the Dead Sea.

Being a state of consciousness, the religious experience must be congruous with the individual's other states of consciousness. Religion cannot rise above its source. The savage and the illiterate cannot experience the refined religious sentiments enjoyed by the man of culture, nor the child or youth those of the adult and senescent. The only religious sentiment which one can have is that which his stage of mental and moral development renders him capable of experiencing. Not a baptism merely, but a miracle, would be required to make a Christian of a savage. And the same applies to the average child below the age of puberty, the feeble-minded and the insane. The child, no doubt, has the psychical elements out of which the religious experience is evolved, just as the seed has the promise of the fruit which will come in the fullness of time. But to say, therefore, that the average child is religious, or capable of receiving the usual advanced religious instruction, is equivalent to saying that the seed is the fruit or capable of being converted into fruit before the fullness of time.

Again, the *expression* of the religious sentiment varies according to individual and racial development and temperament. In some ages the religious consciousness expresses itself in song and dance, image-making and worshipping, elaborate ritual and ceremonial, fasting, flagellation, offering of plant, animal and even human sacrifices, indulgence in the wildest license, pitiless asceticism, outraging all human feelings and breaking all human ties, holocausts, inquisitions, wars, torture-chambers and other such mediums; in later ages, the religious consciousness finds vent in acts of kindness, in the establishment and conduct of charity organizations—hospitals, asylums, college settlements, People's Palaces, Toynbee Halls, Hull Houses, reform schools; in better educational facilities for the masses, moral crusades, the cure and prevention of diseases, tenement reforms, playgrounds, factory and child-labor laws, conservation of natural resources for future generations, and numerous other social reforms and ameliorations. In one age the all-important question is,—“Are you willing to be damned for the greater



glory of God?" In another it becomes,—“What and how much are you doing for your fellow-man?” Formerly, worship meant lip-, hand-, and knee-movements; to-day it means social service. “Church clothes” have their changing fashions, and creeds and dogmas grow old and die to make room for the new ones each generation brings forth, but the hearts of men beat healthier with the passing of the years, and not only does the religious experience become richer and more refined, but its expressions also become softer, more altruistic and beneficent.

If the foregoing analysis of the religious consciousness and its expressions be approximately correct, it will not be difficult to establish the thesis that religion and immorality are not necessarily incompatible. Being a relatively rare state, and occasioned by conditions which appeal to all human beings in greater or less degree, there is no inherent reason why a courtesan or a criminal may not, under such conditions, experience, even profoundly, the religious sentiment. Indeed, it is not at all improbable that the murderer going to the scaffold experiences it with an intensity unknown to men who live morally and die in their beds. And the courtesan, when she reflects upon her life and bemoans her unhappy lot, may feel it more deeply than her more fortunate sister who attends church with punctilious regularity. Who can picture the *de profundis* transfiguration when Madonna wakes in sorrowful Magdalene?

In the history of religions we find not a few sects among whom sexual orgies form a regular part of the religious ritual. In the religious ceremonies of the *Christs*, for example,—a peculiar mystical sect in Russia —after the performance of a series of grotesque and hysterical acts, which continue late into the night, they throw themselves pell-mell, men and women, on beds, benches, or upon the ground, and abandon themselves to nameless forms of depravity. “The carnal love which we have for our sisters,” the men say, earnestly, in justification of their frenzied conduct, “is sanctified by the presence of the Holy Spirit among us.” Even more revolting are the closing scenes of the religious ceremonies of the *Skoptsy* and other Russian sects. Herodotus, writing of the Chaldeans, says, “Every woman born in the country must enter once during her lifetime the enclosure of the Temple of Aphrodite; must there sit down and unite herself to a stranger,” and Maspero states that

this custom still existed in the fifth century B. C. Orgies of this nature were also of common occurrence among the Algonquins, Iroquois, the tribes of Lower California, the Nicaraguans, the natives of Mexico, Brazil, Paraguay and Central America. Among the Corinthians, in certain Egyptian cities, and among the Brahmins, delubral hetairism was openly practised and regarded as a praiseworthy act. Many Greek and Roman temples were dedicated to the phallus and filled with hetaræ. In the Temple of Venus at Corinth, there were as many as a thousand sacred prostitutes, and an equal number in a temple of the same goddess at Eryx. Of the Armenians, Starbo writes, "It is the custom of the most illustrious personages to consecrate their virgin daughters to this goddess (Anaitis). This in no way prevents them from finding husbands, even after they have prostituted themselves for a long time in the Temple of Anaitis. No man feels on this account any repugnance to take them as wives." Among the Greeks and Romans, religio-sexual carousals were common during the festivals significantly named after the deities of love and increase, wine and flowers. The scathing satires of Juvenal, who in one place states that every temple in Rome was practically a licensed brothel; the writings of Suetonius, Tacitus, Seneca, St. Paul and St. Augustine constitute but a short chapter in the history of phallicism, and leave no doubt as to the *rapprochement* which can exist and has existed between religion, in its objective form, at least, and sexual immorality.

Murder and thieving are other crimes which have been associated with religion. The pages of history are crimson with the blood of men, women and children slaughtered in the name of religion. In ancient times, the offering of human sacrifices to appease the wrath or gain the favor of the deity was well-nigh universal, and at a much later date Queen Isabella confessed that "in love of Christ and His maid-mother," she "caused great misery and depopulated towns and districts, provinces and kingdoms." During the Middle Ages, Lecky tells us, it was usually regarded not only as innocent, but proposed as the highest virtue "to outrage the affections of the nearest and dearest relations. 'A young man,' it was acutely said, 'who has learnt to despise a mother's grief, will easily bear any other labor that is imposed upon him.'" Calvin had even more murder in his heart when he addressed the "wretches" who were willing to

allow the heretics to go unpunished, assuring them that such was not the will of God. "It is not without cause," he told them, "that God has destroyed all the human affections which have effeminated the heart. It is not without cause that He expels the love of the father for his children, the love of brothers and relatives, that He renders husbands immune to the flatteries and cajoleries of their wives; in short, that He strips men, so to speak, of their natures, in order that nothing may chill their zeal. Why does He require such an extreme, unyielding rigor, unless it is to show that one does not do Him the honor which one owes Him unless he prefers His service to every human regard, unless he spare neither parents, blood nor life, and unless he put himself in utter forgetfulness of all humanity whenever it is the question of fighting for His glory.'" In his own life, he fully exemplified his belief, especially in his cruel persecution of the noble Servetus.

Of the Jesuits, in this connection, it is sufficient to recall that their history yields a rich variety of crimes, committed *pro Deo et Ecclesia*. The most curious case, however, of murder based upon and justified by religion, is that furnished by the *Thugs* of India, who believed themselves "called" to be the slayers of men, and who committed their murders according to rigidly prescribed forms, and only after the performance of special religious rites. An oath taken upon the pickaxe was as binding to these religious assassins as the Koran is to the Mahommedan, or the Bible to the Christian.

Of religious thieves, Russia again furnishes interesting cases. In the northern part of that paradoxical country there is a religious sect which adores Saint Nicholas, the "chicken-thief," who is considered the patron saint of all thieves, and to whom they therefore pray for aid in their enterprises.

But we need not go to remote times and places for illustrations of the fact that the religious sentiment is found in the hearts and minds of the immoral and the criminal. Every prison in the land can furnish them in abundance, and beyond prison-walls, in banks and shops and offices, in homes and factories, on the stock exchange, in legislative halls, and even in the churches, the abundance is greater still. We are assuredly, none of us, saints in our daily struggles and competitions, and the line between the moral and the immoral cannot be sharply drawn. But we are human, and the meanest and hum-



blest among us has within him the capacity to experience, when conditions conspire to induce it, that peculiar compound state which is the sublimate, as it were, of the entire personality, mind and heart and will, and is called religion.

A single qualifying statement needs to be added. Under normal conditions, the religious state, when experienced, tends to expel immorality, and *vice versa*. In this sense, the two are incompatible, but in no other.

## THE SIGN OF THE MOTHER-GODDESS.

By REV. ARTHUR E. WHATHAM.

Prof. Lewis B. Paton, in his very interesting article on "The Cult of the Mother-Goddess," who is, he tells us, the one divinity found in all branches of the Semitic race (*Biblical World*, July, 1910, p. 27), thinks that we have her sign or symbol in the second of the eight standing stones of the High Place of Gezer recently discovered by Macalister (*Bible Side-Lights*, pp. 7, 47 ff.).

This particular stone, small and of conical top, a view of which will be found heading the other drawings and figures grouped numerically at the close of this article, Prof. Paton claims to represent the female breast, indicative of productiveness, the chief characteristic of the mother-goddess. Thus he writes,—“Amongst all the Semites a short cone shaped stone, representing the female breast, was the emblem of the mother-goddess” (p. 31). For reasons about to be given, it appears to us that Prof. Paton is in error as to the significance of the stone in question. In our judgment we have here the well-known ancient symbol of the male phallus. A triangular or cone shaped stone was undoubtedly the symbol of the mother-goddess. Not, however, as representing the female breast, but rather the natural triangular female pudendum, the form of which was employed as the symbol of the unmarried mother-goddess, the patron of sexual love (*Barton-Semitic Origins*, pp. 251, 253). Prof. W. Robertson Smith says, “In ancient times obscene symbols were used without offense to denote sex, the female symbols of this kind are found in many Phœnician grottos scratched upon the rock” (*Religion of the Semites*, p. 475). In fig. 2 we have a sketch of one of these graffiti from a grotto near Tyre, another cave near Gebal showing similar markings. Within the one we here produce we see what is evidently a female figure, with what is most probably the phallic hand above it. The following figs. 3-11, afford ample evidence that it was from the female pudendum that the idea of the

cone idol of the Paphian goddess had been derived. This has been reversed so as to stand on its base, but it is still the same triangular pudendum. Full proof of this will appear in the course of this article. Here to the sketches of the natural triangle we add figs. 12, 13. The first (12) from a Cyprian coin (*cf.* 56) shows the cone of the Paphian goddess with a head-piece and rudimentary arms, similarly conventionalized, while more clearly portrayed on fig. 16. The second figure shows on a coin of Mallos the same cone-idol, this time plain but with a triangle pudendum *in situ* at its left side made from three pieces of vine branch accompanied by two bunches of grapes one on either side of the cone. Nor must we neglect to add that in Southern Babylonia the mother-goddess was known as "the goddess of the vine" (Sayce—Relig. Anct. Bab., p. 240). Of the other figs. 3, 4 are plaques found by Bliss and Macalister in Palestine, and belong to pre-Israelite times (Excavations in Palestine, p. 136); 5, 6, 7—the first is from an Assyrian seal depicting the nude Istar, the second is a small votive figurine from Cyprus, while the third is a very archaic figure from Cyprus (Ohnefalsch-Richter-Kypros, pls. 31. I; 172t; 55.5). Figs. 8, 9 are figurines found by Peters at Nippur, the oldest Babylonian city (Nippur Vol. II, p. 37). Fig. 10 is a leaden idol discovered by Schliemann at Troy (Troja, p. XVII; Ilios, p. 276). Fig. II is one of a large number of statuettes found in the Cyclades, and which date from a remote period (Perrot and Chipiez—Art in Phrygia, p. 329; Mosso Palaces of Crete, p. 271). Now when we compare all these triangles with the two Babylonian equivalent ideograms  $\triangleright \triangleright$  for the female pudendum, which evidently were equally established signs for "woman," since the similar Assyrian ideogram  $\triangleright$  had the same double significance ("femelle  $\triangleright$ ." Delitzsch-Entstehung des altes Schriftsystems, p. 16;  $\triangleright$ = pudenda muliebria. Thureau Dangin. Recherches sur l'Origine de l'Eritare Cuneiforme, p. 53), we at once see that Aristophanes' reference to the female pudendum under the term "delta," was more than a mere witty observation of this Greek writer (Lysistrata, 148 ff.). It shows clearly that the statement of Suidas in the 10th cent. A. D. referring to the fourth letter of the Greek Alphabet—Delta, is correct. "Delta, the fourth letter: it also signifies the vulva," since it was so understood by the Greeks as early as B. C. 500. I am inclined, therefore, to see in the ancient



form of the Hebrew letter—Daleth, and in the Greek—Delta, both of which have the same form of a triangle standing on its base, characters derived from the female pudendum reversed. Dr. Taylor thinks that the fourth letter of the Phœnician alphabet, the form of which is the same as that of the two letters just named, from which the latter two were evidently derived, had been taken from the shape of a tent door curtain, the screen which hung before the door (The Alphabet, Vol. I, pp. 148, 170). But Dr. Taylor himself admits that the people who originally named the letters (daleth, the 'door') had houses with windows. They therefore knew equally the quadrangular form of a door. Thus evidently it was not from the form of a tent door covering that the letters Daleth and Delta had been derived, but, as we claim from the form of the female triangular pudendum, the shape of which was adopted by the ancients as the sign of the physical doorway of human life, and then later as the universal generic sign for woman. The fact that as adopted into the alphabets, the natural sign was reversed, counts nothing, since the delta letter-form of this sign hangs suspended on the breast of the votive child-image, Esmun-Adonis, as used in the Cypriote Astarte-Aphrodite worship (fig. 14; cf. 15, 16). To-day Cypriote maidens wear in the same position a similarly suspended triangle in the belief that it will win them husbands (OR. pl. 33. 5, 6. text, pp. 205, 307). All of these triangular shaped figures, therefore, have one and the same origin, viz., the female pudendum. But this is not all, for while the triangle as a female emblem had its origin as indicated, it was after all not so much the pudendum *triangle* as its enclosed opening, the kteis or vulva proper, that it specially signified. In the passage already referred to in Aristophanes, the allusion is specifically to the exposure of this opening by the customary voluptuous practice of plucking out the hair by which it was ordinarily hidden, or covered (cf. 89). In Isa. 3. 17, the expression—"their secret parts," is literally—"their openings." Nor should this surprise us when we reflect that the Hebrew word (נִקְבָּה) for female means—"the perforated," *i. e.*, the one with a hole or opening. Herodotus tells us that he saw in Syrian Palestine pillars engraved with the genitals of a woman, which Sesostris had set up in token of the cowardice of the inhabitants (B. II. 102). Whatever was this conqueror's reason for so engraving these pillars, such a detailed exhibi-

tion could only have been viewed by the better element as a disgrace passed upon their women. This is proved not only by the passage from Isaiah already quoted but from chap. 7. 20. In this latter passage the prophet represents Yahweh as declaring that he will use the invading Assyrians as a razor to shave off "the hair of the feet" of the Israelites as a punishment for their wickedness. We have here a euphemism for the hair of the genitals, the exposure of which, by the denuding of their natural covering, was viewed as a disgrace.

Returning to the consideration of the ordinary and the reversed triangular pudendum. If the particular engraving (2) of the pudendum from the walls of the Tyrian grotto does enclose a female figure, it would merely be in keeping with what we find elsewhere, since a Carthaginian stele, fig. 15, shows Tammaz-Adonis, the crouching attendant of the local mother-goddess, Tanith, dwelling within a triangle. It is impossible to doubt that here we have a correspondence to the crouching child attendant of the Paphian goddess already referred to, the sole difference being that while the former sits within, the latter is external to the triangle which he carries as intimated suspended upon his breast (fig. 14). The other Carthaginian stele (fig. 16), which we compared with fig. 14, shows an empty, but as already indicated a humanized triangle with the phallic hand above it. It was customary with the ancients to humanize such phallic emblems by adding to them human extremities. Thus the Egyptians put arms and hands on the Ankh, the sign of life (OR. pl. 123; Budge-Book of the Dead, pl. 6. *cf.* fig. 17). That the upper projections on fig. 16, are conventionalized arms and hands can at once be seen by comparing them with the figure of the mother-goddess carved at either end of the stone chest discovered at Idalion (fig. 18). That we have here a common type showing this divinity in the act of blessing is proved by the numerous finds of small votive clay figurines showing the same attitude and found at the same place. Nor must we neglect to add that the Cyprian Artemis groves have yielded hundreds of terra-cotta votive images of this goddess, having, however, merely stumps for the full arms, so that here we have the origin of the head and arm stump-cone on one of the coins of Paphos already referred to (OR. I. 305. pl. 210, 20; fig. 19. *cf.* fig. 12). That the up-raised arms on both the statuettes and triangles

show the mother-goddess in the act of blessing, all the circumstances in the case fully demonstrate.

We shall again refer to this particular triangle when further considering its symbolical contents. Here, however, we call attention to two examples which we produce in figs. 20, 21, and which for the present completes the evidence already submitted that the triangle standing on its base is the same as the triangle standing on its apex. The first of these two figures is taken from a Babylonian seal and depicts the nude Istar as by order of Allat stripped of her entire clothing and jewels upon entering the lower world to obtain the waters of life wherewith to restore her young bridegroom Tam-muz (Sayce—Bab. Assy. Relig. p. 220). Ohnefalsch-Richter refers to this account of Istar in presenting this nude image of her, but he is silent touching her triangle head piece (I, 284. pl. 115, 5). As to the story referred to in the Babylonian poem which commemorates this event, Istar is described as wearing not merely a necklace but also ornaments of the breast. This is in keeping with the ornaments depicted on her numerous statuettes and figurines discovered in Babylonian, Susiana, Cyprus, and Naukratis. Here she wears not only the ordinary necklace, but also an elaborate bust-pendant suspended by its own separate neck chain. I shall illustrate and fully describe this pendant later. In the meantime, we may notice in the present instance the peculiar triangular crown on the head of the goddess. This can be nothing else than the reversed triangular pudendum of the goddess, here depicted as forming her crown. Fig. 21, was discovered by Schliemann at Troy, and is evidently part of a female image showing the triangular pudendum in exaggerated form, and reversed. Thus in outline it appears like the triangular crown (15).

In rejecting Prof. Paton's explanation of the small conical stone of the Gezer High Place, I am prepared to concede that in part it *may* be regarded as a female emblem, not, however, of the breast, but of the pudendum. At the same time I agree more with Macalister that it represents the male phallus. At least, he so implies (BSL, pp. 58, 63 ff.), and I personally hold this view.

The triangle capped post or pillar on Babylonian, Assyrian, and Phœnician seals, which stands in company with what at first glance appears to be a gate-like structure, has been thought to represent



the male phallus; while the supposed gate has been viewed as the sign of the vulva opening or doorway of human life. In reality, however, the triangle itself represents the female pudendum, and the supposed gate, the male phallus.

The well-known traveller, Mr. H. S. Cowper, discovered in the mountains at the back of Tripoli an astonishing number of stone structures resembling doorways. In comparing these with what certainly appears to be a similar structure on the seals referred to, he came to the conclusion that they both represented one and the same object, viz., the Asherah of the Old Testament (*The Hill of the Graces*, pp. 176, 184 ff.). From the accompanying drawings (figs. 22, 23), the first taken from Mr. Cowper's book, and the second from Inman's *Pagan and Christian Symbolism*, p. 30, we are not surprised that he came to this conclusion, since the gate-like structure shown in both drawings is undoubtedly alike in both. Nevertheless, the resemblance is but superficial, although I do not know whether it could be called purely accidental for the following reasons. The first of the two figures we are considering shows, standing on the altar at the right side, what was originally part of the mythological Babylonian pillar-gate of the sun, composed of two revolving pillars, which subsequently, however, came to be represented by one pillar. But this also lost its original significance of a revolving pillar comprising one half of an idealized gate, becoming a stationary and solid pillar representing the phallic member of the sun-god Samas, a transition shown in figs. 24, 25 and 26. In the first figure the two pillar gates represent the womb of the morning, from which the sun daily issues upon the winding up of the two revolving pillars. At the close of the day the sun re-enters this gateway, when the two pillars unwind, thus closing up the passage or entrance. Part of this Ohnefalsch-Richter tells us (*ib.*, I. 182), but he failed to see at the back of this pictured poem the thought of the human gateway of physical life. This is more clearly shown in the Egyptian drawing, fig. 27, which we reproduce from Budge—"The Gods of the Egyptians," Vol. II, 0. 101. Here the rays of the sun, to which Nut is giving birth, fall on the head of the goddess Hathor, a cow deity and the personified Dawn, who, however, was identified with the Sun himself with feminine attributes (Renouf—*Relig. Anct. Egypt*, p. 166). A drawing given by Maspero (*The Dawn of Civilization*—p. 79,

*cf.* p. 141) shows the head of Hather within the sun's disc, which rests within what appears to be a hollow block, but which corresponds to the mountain hollow from which the Babylonian sun-god Samas is emerging as shown in fig. 26. The two trees in the Egyptian picture, growing respectively on the mountain of sunrise and the mountain of sunset are sycamores, the one being the embodiment of Hathor, and the other of Nut. In both these Babylonian and Egyptian presentations, therefore, we have the same thought behind them, viz., the human doorway of life. Neither Ohnefalsch-Richter nor Budge, however, say anything about this thought. It was left to Dr. Clay Trumbull in his "Threshold Covenant" to call the attention of scholars to this point. In the course of his argument, in which he refers to the swinging or revolving pillars of the Babylonian sun-gate, he says, "A doorway of two upright stone pillars with or without an overlaying stone across them, such was the first shrine, and its sill the first altar, the whole being the outcome of the earlier thought which saw in woman the doorway of physical (human) life, and the first altar of sacrifice (p. 105. *cf.* in order pp. 102, 66, 103, 3, 252, 198, 197).

And now comes an unexpected confirmation of all this. Dr. Trumbull based his conclusion upon what he believed to be primitive remains of the threshold worship in various parts of the world, and he specially mentioned Phœnicia and Carthage (pp. 102, 107). Now look at Mr. Cowper's "senam" (fig. 22), the name he himself gave to these structures, and which is Arabic for "idol." It is, as I said, one of many similar structures he discovered in the mountains of Tripoli just behind Carthage, which he concludes were built by the Phœnician colonists before the time of the Romans (p. 188 ff.). Their ritual use was, he thinks, for the regeneration of victims passed between their jambs (185), before which in nearly every case he discovered a flat or sill-like altar (p. 148 ff.). He then compares these senams to the Hebrew Asherah, which he views as probably a symbolical effigy of Ashtoreth (p. 184 ff.), and which he sees in the gate-like structure so frequently exhibited on ancient Semitic seals in company with a cone capped staff, both structures standing upon or near to an altar as in figure 23.

It is strange that Mr. Cowper should have come so near to the true explanation of these senams and yet have practically missed it.

Frazer, in his "Golden Bough," relates that some Hindoo ambassadors to England were considered to have so polluted themselves by their contact with strangers that upon their return their prince ordered them to be passed through a golden yoni made for the purpose (Vol. I. p. 307; III. 397 p. ff.). They had passed through the Hindoo symbol of the doorway of human life and so had been regenerated, or born again. In Mr. Cowper's *senams* we have, as Trumbull's evidence confirms, one form of the Semitic symbol of the same doorway. They do not, therefore, correspond to the gate-like structure on the Semitic seals, since these are sun pillars, and correspond to the sun pillars of the Old Testament. They correspond rather to the cone capped staff on these seals, which represents the female triangular pudendum reversed, a correspondence further borne out in our second figure (23) by the respective signs of the sun and moon deities above their separate symbols, which also carry on their own sides their further respective signs of the kteis and the male palm.

But again, it is impossible to doubt that in the star crowned staff on the Babylonian seal (fig. 24), we have a combined symbol indicative of the significance of the fuller pictorial representation. It is in sign language the story of a celestial birth more humanized with greater detail in the Egyptian representation shown in fig. 27, but here, however, exhibiting the natural triangle out of which a star emerges. We have in fact in this emblem the well-known Babylonian symbol of the goddess Ishtar. On another Babylonian seal we see Ishtar holding her star crowned staff in front of the moon-god, Sin, but here the other end of her staff is plain, without any ornamentation whatever (Maspero—*Dawn of Civilization*, p. 659). Ishtar was viewed as the morning star which heralds the rising sun. She was also viewed as the great mother-goddess personifying fertility. These two ideas are associated in her symbol as shown in fig. 24. The star indicates her office of herald to the rising sun; while the triangle attached to the other end of the staff indicates her characteristic function of fertility.

I may here add that in what I have said I do not mean to imply that the ordinary phallic pillar was derived from the Babylonian sun-gate pillar, but only that here we have the origin of the OT



sun pillars, regarded as equally phallic pillars with the older Baal pillar.

This brings me to reconsider the pillars seen by Herodotus in Syria-Palestine, since it would seem that his explanation of them is exceedingly doubtful. He says that they were erected by Sesostris, that is, Rameses II (Wright—*Empire of the Hittites*, p. 20). Herodotus was not born until 484 B. C., that is until 768 years after Sesostris is assumed to have died, Toffteen dating the latter 1319-1253 B. C. (*Ancient Chronology*, p. 231). During all this period the Syrians were fierce and war-like people, and it is not to be thought for a moment that they would have suffered to exist evidence of cowardice on their part set up by a foreign monarch in the distant past. It is much more likely that the monuments seen by Herodotus were Astarte pillars distinguished as such by the triangle emblems engraved upon them (Sesostris, *Ency. Brit.*). There is of course the matter of the inscription. But we do not gather that this explained the presence of the female signs, the reason for their existence evidently being supplied by Herodotus himself. There is, however, a further matter which few writers seem to have noticed, or even when noticed has sufficient stress been laid upon it. Sesostris was not the victorious conqueror of the people of Syria-Palestine as Herodotus infers. He was compelled to make a treaty of peace with the Hittites, from whom he encountered a practically successful stubborn opposition to his northern invasion, a treaty which included their allies, the Syrian kings (Wright—*EH.* pp. 21, 53). No such monuments, therefore, as described by Herodotus could have been erected by Sesostris in Syria-Palestine. The pillars he did see, consequently, must have been Astarte pillars, as the writer of the article—Sesostris—in the *Ency. Brit.* concluded. As for the inscription which Herodotus says he also saw on these pillars, he must have colored or distorted it in attempting to explain the origin of the engraved female emblems.

From the evidence so far submitted it will have been seen that we have practically been discussing the form and significance of the Hebrew Asherah, and it is therefore now time to ask, whether it is possible to determine these two points, since one of the last writers to allude to the subject seems to think that it is not. Thus he refuses to occupy space with what he terms "the profitless discussion of a

very obscure subject," although he adds, "we may content ourselves with noting that the most generally received theory is that it was a wooden pillar erected as a representative of a sacred tree" (Macalister—BSL, p. 64, ff.).

We are sorry that so distinguished an explorer and writer as Mr. Macalister should have thus expressed himself, since we think, notwithstanding that other eminent scholars have similarly concluded (W. R. Smith—LRS, p. 188; Allen—Asherah, HDB; Moore—Asherah; Massabah. Ency. Bib.), that we have abundant evidence to determine both the points in question.

Referring to the essential features of a Canaanite high-place, Mr. Macalister tells us that it consisted, amongst other objects, of an altar, a pillar, or pillars, and an Asherah. The pillar or pillars, as I have already said, he implies, without actually saying so, were male phallic emblems, Dr. Peters stating this plainly (Early Hebrew Story, p. 109); while even Dr. Paton sees in all the stones of the Gezer high place, except the smallest, phallic emblems of the subordinate male divinities who were consorts of the mother-goddess (BW. p. 31). The second stone, as already stated, he thinks was a female emblem significant of the breast of the mother-goddess. It will be recalled that I conceded that this stone *may* have been a female emblem representing the *pudendum muliebrum* at the top of a stone pillar, although I added I did not think it was. Indeed it would seem that the apparent marks of kissing which the smooth places on the top of this stone exhibit, evidence that it was the well-known male phallic emblem. Both Abraham and Jacob are referred to in the OT in circumstances depicting the special sanctity which the ancient Semites accorded to the male phallus (Gen. 24. 2; 47. 29). This swearing by "God's Phallus," is even to-day a form of oath practised by some of the inhabitants of Palestine, including women (Curtiss—Primitive Semitic Religion To-Day, p. 113; Thigh—HDB). There are also modern instances of the kissing of the real member, which tend to show that the marks on the top of the small stone in question are, as have been supposed, the result of this form of reverence (Westeeropp—Primitive Symbolism, p. 42; Sex Mythology, p. 33; Picart's "Religious Ceremonies," pl. 71). Adoration is also paid to the female member, but not in the same manner, which tends to prove that the small stone under discussion

was the male and not the female emblem of deity (Higgins—Hebrew Idolatry and Superstition, p. 24; Curtiss—*ib.*, p. 115). Dr. Paton further tells us that two of the stones, which he had already described as emblems of the male phallic member, the third and eighth of the eight standing stones, have markings upon them which he thinks represent the inverted breast of the mother-goddess, or the female counterpart of the standing stones, by which evidently he means the female triangular pudendum. He then infers that the pillars seen by Herodotus were stones with markings of a similar character and significance to the cup markings on the third and eighth of the Gezer standing stones. We may accept his second explanation as possible, rejecting the first as impossible, but even in that case these two stones would be Astarte pillars, and not pillars of male divinities, as previously stated by Dr. Paton. If we are correct, then it would further seem that an Astarte pillar did not always stand alone in juxtaposition to a single Baal or Sun-pillar, such as in the case of the twin pillars we have already considered, but sometimes as one of a mixed number of male and female pillars. This apparent fact tends to support our contention that the triangle capped stone of the Semitic seals was an Asherah post, the sign in these instances being on the top instead of on the side as in the case just considered. That the cup marks may possibly represent the female pudendum is further shown by the opening beneath one of them which is described by Macalister, and which evidently in the idea conveyed corresponds to Mr. Cowper's "senams." It is the doorway of human life through which the victim to be regenerated, or the blood of the same, male or female as the case might be, had to pass.

But the main feature of this discussion centres in the question as to the actual existence of a goddess Asherah. This has been denied by Profs. W. R. Smith, W. C. Allen, George Moore, and others; while Profs. Sayce, Hommel, Barton, Toy, and many more, have expressed their belief in the existence of such a deity. The matter, however, seems recently to have been finally settled in favor of the last scholars, since Prof. A. R. S. Kennedy, in Hastings's One Vol. Bib. Dic. after quoting I K. 18. 19; 15, 13; 11. 21. 7, as intimating the existence of the goddess, says,—“A tablet found at Taanach shows that a goddess Ashirat or Asharah was worshipped



from remote antiquity by the Western Semites. There need be no hesitation therefore in accepting the above passages as evidence of her worship in OT times even within the temple itself." He subsequently speaks of "the proved existence of the goddess Asherah whose place," *i. e.*, at the side of Baal, "was later taken by Astarte" (Asherah).

In Judges III. 7, we read (Heb; *cf.* RV),—"the children of Israel served the Baalim and the Asheroth," plur. of Asherah; while in II. II (Heb. and RV), that they "served the Baalim," adding in ver. 13 (Heb.), *the* Baal and *the* Ashtaroth," plur. of Ashtoreth the Hebrew Astarte. (*Cf.* "Baal and the Ashtaroth. RV). Black, in the "Smaller Cam. Bib.—Judges," commenting on this last verse, tells us that "the author speaks not of many local Baalim, but of one Baal, perhaps the Tyrian Baal Melcarth." Moore, however, more correctly refers to the singular form being used here "for the whole genus false god in contrast to Yahweh" (Judges p. 69). The main point, however, in connection with the above passage is that many scholars have assumed that the reference to "the Ashteroth" in III. 7, was a mistake, owing to the fact that there was no such goddess as Asherah, Ashtaroth being the name they should have used, as in II. 13. They themselves were mistaken, however, since we now know that there *was* a goddess Asherah, a mother-goddess, equivalent to the Phœnician or Syrian Astarte, and perhaps older than Astarte, so that it is now quite understandable how the writer or editor of Judges used or left unaltered the reference to Asherah in this verse as equivalent to Ashtoreth in the preceding passage.

But as well as a goddess Asherah there also existed her image or symbol, used equally as the emblem of Astarte and corresponding to the stone phallic pillar, the emblem of Baal. Thus Prof. Toy, writing on Ezekiel 6. 4, says, "The Kammanin or sun pillars were posts, pillars, or obelisks, connected with the worship of a Baal of the Sun, as the Asherahs were with that of Astarte (*cf.* Isa. 17. 8); they stood beside the altars, and were probably ancient forms and emblems of the deity" (SBOT).

Here Prof. Toy views two symbols, representing respectively a male deity, a Baal and his female consort, the goddess Asherah, as standing beside an Israelite high-place altar. The passage he alludes

to in Isaiah infers this (see I K. 14. 23; II. 18. 4. *cf.* Ex. 34. 13; Deu. 7. 5), while it further describes these particular symbols, *i. e.*, symbols regarded as the usual accompaniment of a high-place altar, as being the work of men's fingers, and thus as artificial and not natural emblems. The well-known Variorum Teacher's Bible (AV) explains the word "groves" of Ex. 34. 13, as "Asherahs (*i. e.*, emblems of the goddess of that name);" while the RV, which more correctly gives "Asherim" in the text, says, "Probably the wooden symbols of a goddess of that name."

It is a great pity that Prof. W. R. Smith changed his earlier opinion as to the existence of the goddess Asherah and her special symbol, both of which he then believed to have existed (Baal—Ency. Brit.). Subsequently, however, he claimed, "the opinion that there was a goddess Asherah, and that trees or poles of the same name were her particular symbols, is not tenable" (Lec. Relig. Sem. p. 188). This evidently led Prof. Moore to write,— "the shape of an Asherah is unknown. The assertion often made that in the religion of Canaan the massebas (*i. e.*, pillars) were sacred to male, the Asheras (*i. e.*, posts), to female deities, is supported by no proof whatever" (Asherah—Ency. Bib.).

The evidence we have already offered, with more to follow, shows that Prof. W. R. Smith was correct in his earlier and not in his later view of the matter.

In a former article in this magazine, entitled—"The Origin of Human Sacrifice,"—in rejecting the view that the OT Asherah-post had been derived from, and continued to represent, a tree as an object of worship, I claimed that its origin was to be found in the reverence paid from earliest times to the physical doorway of human life, in other words, the *pudenda muliebria*, which it was made to resemble at first by double wooden posts representing the two jambs of an ordinary doorway, and later by one post, the altar-Asherah of the OT, capped by, or engraved on the side with, a triangle (pp. 36, 44, 45, 47, 50, 51, 57—March, 1906). Further study, however, of this particular problem has convinced me that while I was correct in my description of the significance of the Asherah which stood in company with a Baal or Sun-pillar beside the Hebrew-Canaanite altar, nevertheless, this single Canaanite-Hebrew Asherah-post had had its origin in, and still included, the

idea of tree worship, although the latest writers, who respectively treat this point, König (HDB—Symbol), and Kautzsch (*ib.*—Relig. of Israel), are still in error in indorsing the prevailing view that the Asherah post was merely or *mainly* "a substitute for a sacred tree. The fact is, that it primarily represented, equally with its accompanying while separately independent stone pillar, a phallic symbol, the stone pillar standing for the male phallus, the wooden pillar, with its accompanying triangle, for the female pudendum. At the same time the wooden post, while used mainly to exhibit the female triangular pudendum, still included, as a secondary matter, the thought of Asherah as a tree-goddess, and so, while specifically a vehicle for exhibiting a triangle, the well-known sign of the mother-goddess, it also represented a sacred tree. When the triangle was later engraved on the single stone pillar, or when two plain stones or wooden posts in juxtaposition were set up to symbolize the same thought of the human doorway of life, the idea of tree worship had ceased to be included in such symbols.

Again, while in my former article alluded to above I had there, as I have done here, associated the Asherah triangle symbol with tree worship in one representative figure, a pole engraved with or capped by a triangle, I yet, nevertheless, claimed that *here* we had two originally separate and distinct ideas, viz., tree and doorway worship respectively, under one form or figure (pp. 44, 56 ff.). The error I then made in the case of the OT Asherah was in separating these two ideas, the fact being that the triangle on the wooden post was itself directly connected with the phallic conception of the wooden post which bore it, in the latter's emblematic significance of the tree-goddess it represented. There can be no doubt that the triangle as a female phallic sign was of earlier origin than a tree or tree stump or post employed as a similar sign, since the more natural sign would necessarily be recognized and used much sooner than the more artificial sign of a tree or tree post. At the same time, when in conjunction with an altar and pillar, a tree, *stump* or *post* was first used to represent the goddess supposed to reside within it, we cannot but think that its triangle ornamentations must originally have accompanied its own adoption as a female phallic emblem. Further, as the triangle was the earlier and more natural female phallic emblem, it would follow that after all it was this, and not so much



the thought of a tree, that was specially emphasized in the triangle capped or engraved tree stump or post.

Once more, if the above conclusion is correct it seems that I was in error in claiming that the original form of the Asherah was composed of two posts, and when later composed of one this was not to indicate a tree but merely the physical doorway of human life indicated in the triangle exhibited upon it. Analogy and associated circumstances indicate that Asherah, like Ishtar, being a tree goddess, was naturally at the opening of the history of Israel represented by a wooden pole or post indicative of an original tree worship. I cannot here stop to discuss the origin of tree worship in all its assumed aspects. It is enough for us to recognize that as associated with the nature worship of the Canaanites and Canaanite-Hebrews it indicated female productiveness, and so female divinity, as manifested in the fruit produced. The early Semites, while still in the primitive home, had viewed the date-palm as a sacred tree, and from Babylonian and Assyrian cylinders we learn that in most instances this was the female tree. Abundant evidence exists to show that the female palm-tree played a very important rôle in ancient Israel (Barton—SO, pp. 89, 90). The tree of knowledge, in Eden, from which the fruit was disobediently plucked, was evidently viewed as a female date-palm. Many passages in the OT associate cherubim with palm-trees (I K. 6. 29); while they also appear on the veil in front of the Holy of Holies (Ex. 26, 31), in both cases acting as guardians. Prof. Kelso is inaccurate in saying that "As to the figure of the cherubim in the sanctuaries we have no clue" (Cherubim—HDB) since Prof. Sellin's discovery in Palestine of an altar throne of Solomon's age, carved with figures of lions and creatures with human heads and a lion's body with wings, shows definitely what was the Hebrew-Canaanite conception as to the form of these guardian beings. The form of this creature was evidently derived from Babylonia, where we find it in architectural association with lions (Perrot and Chipiez—*Art in Chaldea and Assyria*, Vol. I, pp. 214-216) exactly as shown on this altar throne. On a Cyprian scarab two similar sphinxes are shown guarding a sacred tree, which, although conventionalized out of all appearance to a real tree, we know by analogy to represent the female date-palm (fig. 28; cf. Pl. 1, 6—Toy's *Eze. Polychrome Ed.*).

If, then, in Babylonia and elsewhere the mother-goddess was assumed to have her abode in the female date-palm, with which consequently she became identified (Barton—SO. pp. 90, 92, 179), so also in Canaan, Asherah would be similarly identified with the female date-palm. Thus it follows that while, as I have shown, the OT Asherah post with its exhibited triangle primarily signified the doorway of human life, included in this thought was the associated idea of tree worship indicated in the tree stump or post carrying this triangle.

My change of mind on the one or two points associated with the Asherah post, which, I repeat, did not after all affect my main conclusion, followed upon a closer study of early tree planting and worship as connected with similar examples in the OT, and the accompanying illustrations (figs. 29-35) show how naturally this was brought about.

Figs. 29, 30 are copies of Cyprian seals showing the planting of sacred trees accompanied by sacrifice, signified in the ox-head accompaniment. Here we are at once reminded of the tamarisk tree planted by Abraham, who then and there called upon the name Yahweh (Gen. 21. 33). This calling upon the name of Yahweh included also the erecting of an altar with its customary sacrifice, as well as the planting of a sacred tree (Driver—Genesis, p. 71, *cf.* Gen. 12. 7; 15. 7-18; Jer. 34. 18). Fig. 31, is from a Hittite inscription, and most probably represents the planting by the human hand of an unadorned tree post. That tree posts or poles as well as living trees were planted or erected is seen in fig. 32, taken from a Cyprian seal cylinder, one of many examples. Prof. W. R. Smith thinks that a dead tree post as a sacred object was often planted in the ground like our Maypole (Relig. Sem., p. 138), an opinion fully warranted, as we shall soon see.

From the study of the significance of the foregoing and other corresponding drawings, I at once saw that the writer of Deu. 16. 21, had in mind an ancient, and still at the time of his writing an existing, belief in trees as the abode of divinity, which belief he rightly assumed would be perpetuated in the thought of the people if they were left without a strong prohibition against the erecting of the wooden asherah post, particularly if made from the timber of any one of the specially recognized sacred trees. The early Israelites

had shared with their neighbors the belief that divinity, not excluding even their own god Yahweh, dwelt in trees as a more or less permanent abode (Gen. 12. 6-8; 13. 18; 21. 33; 26. 25; Ex. 3. 2-4; Deu. 33. 16; *cf.* McNeile—Exodus, p. 16). In fig. 33, we have a drawing of a coin of Myra illustrating this belief with reference to the mother-goddess as worshipped by the Lycians. In fig. 34, we have a representation of the child Mithra rising from the cypress, which at once puts us in mind of the angel of Yahweh as dwelling in the burning bush. In fig. 35, we have an example of a dance round a sacred tree, the Attis-pine. It was found in pieces by Ohnefalsch-Richter in the grove of Astarte-Aphrodite at Chytirio, Cyprus, and by him put together. It was the custom to set up this tree near the altar of the goddess, not a growing tree, but a tree cut from the near grove and set up, usually by sticking it into the ground, or by placing it upon a support as in fig. 32 (OR. 'Cyprus' pl. 74. 4; text, p. 128 ff.). Now all this has a direct bearing on Deu. 16. 21, which refers, however, not to the planting of a tree, or a post representing a tree, but directly and specially to the setting up of the particular sign of the Canaanite mother-goddess Asherah, the female triangular pudendum which the Canaanites, like the Babylonians and Assyrians, exhibited on a wooden post set up in juxtaposition to a pillar which stood alongside of the altars erected by all three peoples under *living* trees (I K. 14. 23; II K. 17. 10; Jer. 17. 2; *cf.* Isa. 17 8; Jer. 3. 20). Indirectly, and therefore secondarily, there was included, however, in the wooden post itself the associated thought of the tree in which the goddess Asherah like the goddess Ishtar was presumed to reside.

That my conclusion is correct is strengthened by fig. 36, which shows on a terra-cotta votive plaque from Carthage the head of the cow symbol of the Semitic mother-goddess of North Africa, Tanith. It is flanked on the one side by the special sign of the universal Semitic mother-goddess, the triangle; and on the other, by the so-called herald's staff of Hermes, on which we see the usual two serpents entwined. Now just as the staff here, which in this instance represents Tanith's male partner, Baal, is subordinate to the two serpents it carries, so also the staff carrying the triangle is subordinate to this particular symbol. Much speculation has been given to the elucidation of the significance of the serpents on this staff.



But long before the existence of the Greek Hermes, the Egyptian goddess, Quadesch, corresponding to Astarte-Aphrodite, and equally worshipped as the nature goddess of love, beauty, and fertility, was represented holding sometimes one, and sometimes two serpents in her left hand (OR. pl. 94, 8; 122, 1; Budge—*Gods of the Egyptians*, Vol. II, p. 280). She is usually represented in the form of an actually naked woman, and at such times the triangular pudendum is specially emphasized (fig. 37). As such she appears also in ancient Assyrian remains (Layard—*Nineveh and Its Remains*, p. 160). We must therefore get behind the Caduceus of Hermes in any attempt to explain the serpents on his staff.

Says Havelock Ellis,—“There is no fragment of folk-lore so familiar to the European as that which connects woman with the serpent.” And he asks, “How has it happened that in all parts of the world the snake, or his congeners, the lizard and the crocodile, have been credited with some design sinister or erotic, on women” (*Psychology of Sex*, Vol. II, p. 236). To his question, however, he attempts no definite answer, although he does not neglect to note that at Rome the serpent was the symbol of fecundation, and often figures at Pompeii as the *genius patrisfamilias*, the generative power of the family (*ib.*, p. 238). In his volume, “Man and Woman” p. 15, he does not hesitate to see in the Hebrew story of the Garden of Eden an erotic connection in the association of Eve with the serpent. Long before this, however, Sir George W. Cox, in his “Mythology of the Aryan Nations”—had similarly expressed himself, explaining that it was “the symbol of the Phallos in its physical characteristics that suggested the form of the serpent” (p. 353), views which have been more recently put forth by Crawley as correct conclusions (*The Mystic Rose*, pp. 193, 382). Nor is this at all surprising to students of sex-worship, who are well aware that in the ancient Babylonian theology the serpent and the phallus were identical. This, however, seems to have been definitely pointed out, that is, so far as I am aware, for the first time by that clever and original observer, the late Dr. Clay Trumbull, who in his “Threshold Covenant,” p. 234, calls attention to the serpent phallus on the female dragon Tiamat, and the male god of the underworld, Nergal. Dr. Barton, writing to me in July, 1902, in answer to my having pointed out to him the connection between

the serpent and the phallus on the female dragon Tiamat, wrote, "Your point about Tiamat had not occurred to me, but from my belief concerning the general development of Semitic deities I am quite prepared to see in it a happy insight on your part into the real facts." From what I have said it will have been seen that this happy thought must be credited to Dr. Trumbull. He did not do more, however, than point this fact out, and, consequently, there is some force in the remark of Prof. Hilprecht, occurring in a letter published in the "Appendix" to Dr. Trumbull's work, "One cannot help wishing you might have gone beyond the scope of your book and expressed yourself more in detail as to the precise connection in which the tree and phallus worship stand to the threshold in each of the principal ancient religions, and what rôle the snake played in the further development or determination of the primitive rite so excellently discussed by you" (p. 312). A short time before Dr. Trumbull's death, in answer to some correspondence which I had sent him on the subject, he wrote, that he must leave to other younger investigators to complete the evidence which he had outlined. Amongst these he was good enough to include me, so that I feel it a sort of obligation to sustain by further detail the conclusion he had accepted from his own research.

I begin, then, by giving a sketch of the lower part of the bodies of the respective Babylonian monsters, Nergal and Tiamat, figs. 38 and 39, the first copied from Maspero's "Dawn of Civilization" (*Cf.* Perrot and Chipiez's "History of Art in Chaldea and Assyria." Vol. I, p. 350). Here (38) the phallus follows the form and carries the head of a serpent. Fig. 39 is copied from Davis's "Genesis and Semitic Tradition," p. 4. Here the serpent penis is even more plainly indicated than in the drawing of Nergal. Nor can there be any point drawn from the fact that in some designs of Tiamat a male dragon is represented. In the present case Tiamat is referred to on the tablets narrating this episode as a female monster, and is so generally referred to. Besides, there is another design which depicts the combat between Marduk and Tiamat, and here the monster is a serpent with a dragon's head, while the usual sign of the female, the diamond shaped figure representing the female sexual opening, alongside of the serpent, plainly in this instance indicates its sex (Davis, *ib.*, p. 70). Now there is nothing very remarkable after all

in the serpent appearing on the female Tiamat in the place of the phallus on the male Nergal. The Berlin Museum contains female idols from New Guinea, one of which shows a small snake with a round head and closely resembling a penis at the mouth of the vagina; while another shows a snake-like crocodile crawling out of the vulva (Ellis, *ib.*, p. 234). These people possess a folklore story which represents a god in the form of an eel approaching a woman when bathing (Crawley—Mystic Rose, p. 193). We can now understand why even to-day a serpent is supposed to confer fertility on barren women, and why barren women and young girls approach stone phalli for the same object (Trumbull, *ib.*, p. 259; Curtiss—Prim. Sem. Relig. To-Day, p. 59). We can now further understand why the Cosmic egg was coiled round with a serpent, which sometimes had the head of a cock. In fig. 40, we give an illustration of a netted cortina encircled by a snake with a cock's head, and reproduced from Roux and Barré's "*Herculanum et Pompei*" (Vol. II, pl. 57). The explanation, however, which is given of this object is entirely misleading. They call it "the cover of a tripod," and again, "the cortine, one of the parts of the tripod," evidently identifying it with the Delphic tripod. But here the ancient writers present us with no data which in any manner would give us a clue as to the form of the Delphic tripod. Smith's and Anthon's Classical Dictionaries represent the Delphic tripod as having a circular flat top upon which the Pythia sat to prophesy, and which they call the cortina; while Harper's dictionary depicts it as having a concave cover, which it specially refers to as the cortina.

It is Strabo who gives us the fullest description of the Delphic Tripod, and all he says is, "The place where the oracle is delivered, is said to be a deep hollow cavern, the entrance to which is not very wide. From it rises an exhalation which inspires a divine frenzy: over the mouth is placed a lofty tripod on which the Pythian priestess ascends to receive the exhalation, after which she gives the prophetic response in verse or prose (B. IX. III. 5).

It is thus very evident that the Delphic Tripod was merely a large three-legged stool or seat with a circular flat top, not necessarily either caldron or bowl shaped beneath, like the modern kettle-drum, although it may have been and possible was so. For the tympanum-drum in use by the priests of Cybele, the Greeks and the Romans,



seems from descriptions and pictorial representations to have included not only tambourines but instruments convex on one side like the kettle-drum (Ency. Brit.—Drum; Liddell and Scott—*Tumpanon*). It would seem, therefore, that, as we contend, the Delphic Tripod was merely a flat, circular, three-legged seat of bronze, presumably hollow and very possibly hemispherical underneath the flat surface, and practically in one piece. It is, however, just as likely that it was merely shaped like a tambourine, since Athenæus quotes Semus the Delian as saying of the tripoded wine bowl,—“A brazen tripod, *not* the Pythian one, but that which they now call a bowl” (B. II. 8. 6). And Athenæus himself in the same context speaks of this wine bowl tripod as the tripod of truth because of the truth which people speak when drunk. This tripod, he adds, is considered appropriate to Apollo, because of the truth of his prophetic art. Thus the caldron tripod shown on the statue of Apollo affords no clue to the shape of the Delphic Tripod, since it is more than likely that the former represents the tripoded bowl, the krater-bowl of the Greeks, in which the wine was mixed with water, and from which the cups were filled (Liddell and Scott).

That the Delphic Tripod was practically in one piece, and was so regarded, seems to be borne out by Virgil’s allusion to it under the term, *cortina*. “The tripod (L. *cortina*) moaned” (III. 92-Bohn’s edit.). Again he refers to the oracle itself under the same term,—“Neither the oracle (L. *cortina*) of Phœbe beguiled thee” (VI. 347). Further, it was the custom of the Romans to exhibit their silver, etc., upon three-legged tables corresponding to our sideboards and patterned after the Delphic tripod. Thus Martial in referring to the rich furniture in the house of Amœnus, says,—“Silver and gold are supported upon a Delphi,” meaning a three-legged table (XII. 66).

But if Roux and Barré were in error as to their attempted explanation of the *cortina* in their illustration, what, after all, is this object, and what are we to understand by the serpent with which it is encircled? It resembles the stone cone which stood in the temple at Delphi similarly wrapped in bands, or in other words netted, and which, as indicating the centre of the world, was regarded as the earth’s navel (Strabo IX. 3. 6).

Now Knight appears to think that the omphalic figure seen on ancient coins, that is, the veiled or netted cone, to which he refers as "the cortine of Apollo," represents an egg, presumably the Cosmic egg (fig. 40-a). Indeed, he refers to it as "the veiled cone or egg," asserting of this omphalic figure, that "The conical form also unquestionably means the egg" (Symbolical Language of Ancient Art and Mythology, pp. 97, 147, *cf.* 13). It seems to us, however, that what he so positively assumes to be separate forms of one and the same symbol are, in fact, the respective emblems of two separate ideas, the Cosmic egg, and the Omphalic cone of the temple of Delphi. It is true that both are often represented as encircled by a serpent, but this fact does not in the least warrant the assumption that these two similarly encircled objects are but differing forms of one symbolical figure. The Cosmic egg as a separate and distinct symbol of all organic matter in its inert state, was anciently regarded as incubated or vitalized by the serpent, the emblem of energetic life, its generative function being often further represented by its possession of a cock's head and comb. On the other hand, the veiled or netted omphalos of the temple of Delphi being regarded as the navel of the earth, was evidently viewed as the symbol of Artemis, the moon goddess, to whom as such was owing the spread of vegetation over the earth's surface. Here she was intimately associated with Apollo, from whom, as identified with the streaming light and life of the sun, she derived her productive powers (Apollo; Artemis—Ency. Brit.; Knight, *ib.*, pp. 57, 94, 97; Ohnefalsch-Richter, *ib.*, 1. 308; *cf.* 303).

A Pergæan coin (fig. 41), exhibits a veiled or netted omphalos, termed by Ohnefalsch-Richter "the idol of Artemis," from the top of which emerges the head of this goddess. On other coins on the same plate we see further forms of this same Artemis-omphalos with ears of corn and poppies growing out from the base, witnessing to the fertilizing energy of the sun-god (Apollo). One of these omphalic figures encloses the form of the goddess (OR. *ib.*, p. 169. pl. 85. 5, 10-12). That fig. 41 does exhibit the omphalos of Artemis we know, because Strabo tells us that she had a temple at Perge called the temple of the Pergæan Artemis (XIV. 4. 2).

A coin of Delphi, which bears the name "Delphon," exhibits an omphalos, the top of which divides the name, while the base stands

on a heap of stones. It has no network covering, being plain, but it is encircled by a serpent (Knight p. 104; fig. 40-b). When we recall that Apollo was represented at Delphi by the serpent Python, we can readily see that here we have the omphalos of Artemis encircled by the symbol of Apollos. When, therefore, we further add this figure to what we have already said, we can at once see that in the cortina encircled by a serpent shown by Roux and Barré we have the omphalos of Artemis and the Pythian Apollo. That a serpent encircling an egg sometimes appears on coins in conjunction with the figure of Apollo, who is further represented as sitting on a great number of eggs with a serpent coiled round them, or again with a cone shaped pile of eggs by the side of his statue, affords no ground for seeing in the omphalos of Apollo or Artemis an egg and not a definite omphalos. We have here but a further illustration of Apollo apprehended as the vitalizer of the Cosmic egg as also of Artemis in her character of fertility. It is further possible that in the case of a single egg associated with Apollos there may be the thought of the solar as well as the Cosmic egg, Apollo being identified with the sun. Finally, in the omphalos on the Cyprian scarab (fig. 42), we are not to see the cone of the Paphian goddess, but of Artemis.

*Ashtoreth the Cow and Sheep Goddess.*

I was led into the foregoing discussion from considering the Carthage votive plaque exhibiting the cow head of the goddess Tanith. We shall now consider the cow head of the goddess Ashtoreth discovered by Bliss and Macalister in Palestine (fig. 43), and with it two other associated figures, 44 and 45, the last discovered by Macalister in the sanctuary of the high place of Gezer. The first two figures are copied from Bliss and Macalister's already mentioned work (pp. 136, 137; pls. 67, 68) the last is taken from the Biblical World containing Prof. Paton's article. The second figure (44) with plaques, figs. 3 and 4, belong to a pre-Israelite period, as also does the cow's head. Compare the triangle on these three figures with that on figures 3-11 and on the many other figures given, and we at once see that we are dealing with the same triangle in all of them, viz., the female triangular pudendum.



Up to 1894 Prof. Barton held the view that the name "Ashtoreth-Karnaim" signified that Ashtoreth was worshipped in the form of a cow. He then changed this view for that of Prof. Moore, which makes this phrase signify "the Ashtoreth of the two-peaked mountain," assuming that the city of Karnaim was situated between two hills (Barton—Semitic Origins, p. 238). Recent discovery shows that Prof. Barton's original opinion was correct, since two images have been found in Palestine depicting a female divinity possessing ram-like horns protruding from the head (Biblical World, p. 30). Here undoubtedly we possess statuettes of the original Ashtoreth-Karnaim or the two-horned Ashtoreth (Gen. 14. 5). We have only to look at fig. 45 to see that here we have a sheep and not a cow-goddess, and we can now understand why three times in the OT the expression occurs—Ashtoreth of the sheep, or flock—which is inaccurately rendered—the young of thy flock or—the flocks of thy sheep (Deu. 7. 13; 28. 4, 13). I say inaccurately, because the word rendered—*young*, RV; *flocks*; AV; *produce*, Var. ed,—is the plural of the name goddess Ashtoreth, used here as a euphemism for offspring, so that the sentence literally reads—Ashtoreth of the flock, a phrase which goes back to the time when the goddess Astarte, the older Ashtoreth, was a Canaanite sheep-goddess. The sentence is an idiom, the original sense of which is entirely lost when not translated literally (Barton—SO, pp. 105, 282; W. R. Smith—LRS. pp. 310, 477). But Astarte was also a cow goddess (Barton—*ib.*, p. 201; Smith—*ib.*, 310, 355), a fact further confirmed by the discovery of the cow's head with the sign of the mother-goddess between the horns above the eyes fig. 43.

From what has now been said, it will be seen that the Biblical expression, Ashteroth-karnaim, definitely means, the two-horned sheep or cow-goddess Ashteroth, being equally applicable to either animal. The name further implies that here was a famous sanctuary of Astarte (Bennett—Genesis, p. 190), which settles the question as to the right rendering and significance of the word translated *Beesh-terah* in the AV, Jos. 21. 27; and *Be-eshterah* in the RV, the Variorum edition correctly giving (Var. Rend)—"Be-Eshtera," *i. e.*, House of Ashtoreth. Thus is confirmed the hint in I Mac. V. 43, that here was an ancient shrine of Astarte, the two-horned Ashteroth of Gen. 14. 5. cf. Ashtaroth.—HDB. 1909.

*The Planting of the Asherah.*

The main difficulty in solving what Mr. Macalister unfortunately called a profitless discussion, *i. e.*, as touching the form and significance of the Hebrew-Canaanite Asherah, appears to have centred in the correct rendering of Deu. 16. 21. The AV gives "Thou shalt not plant thee a grove of any trees near unto the altar of thy God." This rendering implies that the planting here alluded to refers to the planting of a grove of trees such as the groves of Gryneum, Pyraea, Mysaeum (Paus. 1. 21; 11. 11; VII. 27), Tæn-arum and Daphne (Strabo. VIII. 5; XVI. II), in all of which stood temples to gods and goddesses, and where frequent festivals took place whose special feature was a gross sex-encounter, a custom of world-wide practice imitated by the Israelites, and still continued in many places (I K. 14. 23; Isa. 57. 5; Jer. 2. 20; Higgins—Heb. Idol: and Super, pp. 19, 25). Knowing nothing about the existence of the goddess Asherah and her symbol, they fell into the mistake of the Septuagint version which gives—Thou shalt not plant for thyself a sacred grove; thou shalt not grow for thyself any tree by the side of the altar of thy God," and rendered the Hebrew,—“Thou shalt not plant thee a grove of any trees near unto the altar of the Lord thy God.” The Revisers of 1881 seeing in the Asherah nothing more than a tree-post or pole which they thought might possibly represent a goddess of that name, rendered it—“Thou shalt not plant thee an Asherah of any kind of tree beside the altar of Jehovah thy God.” They were evidently led to give this rendering under the impression that the Hebrew word used here for “plant” means merely the planting of a tree or vine, which is the sole explanation given in Gesenius edited by Brown, Driver, and Briggs. In the older Gesenius, however, edited by Robinson, and also in Bagster’s Hebrew-English Lexicon, this word (עָצָה) is further rendered as signifying, “to set up an image,” with a reference to Deu. 16. 21. That this rendering and application of the word in question is justified, the whole history of the Asherah post evidences. The prohibition in Deu. 16. 21 and 22 is the same. It refers to the setting up of two symbols, a stone pillar and a wooden post, and has no reference whatever to the planting of a tree of any kind. Prof. Moore thinks that verse 21, should be rendered—

"Thou shalt not plant thee an Asherah—*any* wooden object" (Judges, p. 193; Asherah, Ency. Bib.). But this is not correct, since the passage has reference to a *definite* wooden object, viz., the symbol of the goddess Asherah. The Variorum Teacher's Bible renders it—"An Asherah of any wood whatsoever." This is better, since the literal rendering is—"Thou shalt not set up to thee Asherah—any wood" (or any tree), meaning, made from the wood of any tree, since the Israelites viewed several trees as specially sacred. The prohibition as implied by the RV, is not against the planting of any kind of tree as an Asherah, but against the using of the wood of any tree for the construction of the afore-said Asherah symbol. Prof. W. R. Smith rendered this passage—"Thou shalt not plant to thee an ashera of any kind of wood (or, an ashera, any kind of tree) beside the altar of Jehovah" (LRS, p. 187). From this he reasoned that the Asherah "must therefore have been either a living tree or a tree-like post, and in all probability either form was originally admissible." He drew this conclusion from the fact already alluded to, viz., that the oldest altars of patriarchal sanctuaries stood under actual trees, but he added that,— "this rule could not always be followed, and in the period of the Kings it would seem that the place of the living tree was taken by a dead post or pole planted in the ground like an English May-pole" (p. 188). But why could it not always be followed, seeing there was no lack of trees through the whole period of Israel's history to the exile, under which the inhabitants reared their altars with their usual accompanying Asherah pole and Baal pillar (Isa. 57. 5; Jer. 17. 2; I. K. 14. 23; II. J. 17. 10). Thus it is that Isaiah refers to the trees and the gardens used by the Israelites for their licentious worship (I. 29. cf. 65. 3; 66. 17). I may add that Prof. Moore refused to see in Deu. 16. 21, any reference to a tree or a post representing a tree, first, on the ground that the Hebrew sacred tree had a specific name which would have been attached to its representative had there been one, and second, that it is impossible to conceive of an artificial tree being set up under a real one (Asherah, Ency. Bib. Judges, p. 191). Prof. Kennedy also rejects the opinion that the Asherah was a sacred pole, the substitute of the sacred tree (Asherah—Hastings New DB).



One of the eight stones discovered at Gezer by Macalister stands in a hollow stone socket (Bible Side-Lights, p. 62). In II K. 17. 10, we read,—“And they set them up pillars and Asherim upon every high hill.” It will be noticed that the word “set up” is used only once to apply equally to the pillars and the Asherim. This presents no difficulty when we bear in mind the stone socket just referred to, adding it to the following illustration. Fig. 46, shows (a) the sun’s symbol crowning a wooden staff stuck into the ground, and (b) a symbol of the moon similarly supported. Both symbols (a-b) are taken from a Babylonian seal in the British Museum (Oxford Cyclopedic Concordance, pl. c.). It is true that here the female emblem is represented by the half moon, but we have already seen it with its natural triangular form in company with the male sun-pillar (fig. 23). Now while the evidence which we have already produced in the course of this article fully shows that in this latter figure the triangle corresponds to the half moon in the former, we see this perhaps more clearly illustrated in fig. 47, which exhibits two separate holy stones on their own respective altars, and which are capped by their own separate symbols, the sun wheel and the moon crescent. This last seal Ohnefalsch-Richter informs us is a late Babylonian cylinder (1,149), nevertheless, it substantially proves that in the earlier seals the two objects so frequently represented in juxtaposition on the same altar, the gate-like structure and the triangle-capped staff are symbols respectively of the sun and moon in their phallic significance of male and female.

In a letter written by Prof. Hommel to Dr. Clay Trumbull, and published as part of a supplement to the second edition of the latter’s work, “The Threshold Covenant” p. (333), the former gives a drawing of the Babylonian sign of life (fig. 48 a), which he further compares to the Babylonian ideogram for the vulva (*ib. b*), which is the second of the two Babylonian ideograms which I have given on p. 2. There both drawings represent the same sign, the apparent difference being due solely to the fact that, like the Chinese, the Babylonians wrote sometimes in perpendicular, sometimes in horizontal columns. When in the former the vulva sign appeared as our second drawing, when in the latter as the first. In a recent letter to me Prof. Barton gives a drawing of the Babylonian symbol of the goddess Ishtar (fig. 49), adding “The earliest symbol of Ishtar

on the Babylonian seals is (then comes his drawing), the female delta and the star connected by a line." On a Babylonian seal reproduced by Ohnefalsch-Richter (pl. XXX, 15; cf. fig. 50), we see two symbols exactly similar to the one reproduced by Prof. Barton, the sole difference being that his occupies the reverse position, that is to say, they have the star uppermost while he has it below. In a previous unpublished article I had compared the Babylonian sign of life given by Prof. Hommel with the star-crowned staff on the Babylonian seal depicting the sun-god Samas issuing from between the folded pillar-gates (fig. 24), seeing in both practically the same symbol, since I assumed that the triangle crowning Hommel's sign of life was the female pudendum corresponding to the V-like opening at its base. It will be recalled that here in this present article I have already claimed that the V-like opening at the base of this star-crowned staff, which corresponds to the V-like opening at the base of Hommel's sign of life, is the natural triangle out of which the star-crowned staff emerges like Samas from between his pillar-gates. That in fact, we have in this star-crowned and V-based staff an idea which is more pictorially represented in the main illustration. In other words, we have the birth of Ishtar in the simpler sign with the birth of Shamas in the fuller picture. Prof. Barton in his last letter to me appears to confirm all this, since he accepts the triangle on the top of a staff which carries the star at the bottom as representing the female delta, and the whole staff as the earliest sign of Ishtar. But all this is further in keeping with the entire contention of this article, viz., that the triangle was the well-known sign of the Semitic mother-goddess, since in what Barton recognizes as the symbol of Ishtar we not only have her star, but also her triangular pudendum. In my previous reference to Ishtar's star-crowned staff on the Babylonian seal reproduced by Maspero, I expressed a doubt as to whether it had any ornamentation on the lower end. It would seem, however, that while in this reproduction such ornamentation is so slight as to be practically none, as I previously inferred, nevertheless, slight as it is, by comparing it with three figures on the same cylinder it after all signifies a definite character. Of these three figures (fig. 51 a, b, c, each represents a triangle-crowned staff the end of which is divided into two pieces running right and left like the two sides

of a triangle or an inverted V. In a previous letter to me Prof. Barton had drawn the Babylonian sign of life (d) exactly as these three figures appear (a, b, c). There is this sole difference then between the sign of life as drawn by Barton and that by Hommel, the former makes the two sides of the triangle or inverted V at the end of his staff run down, after the manner of the three triangular-crowned staffs on fig. 51; while the latter makes them run up like the V shaped figure at the end of the star-capped staff on fig. 24. The important point to settle is—does this difference of position in a figure which on the one hand resembles an ordinary and on the other an inverted V mark any definite difference of conception between either form in the significance intended to be conveyed? We think not, since it would appear from the following evidence that both forms convey the same significance, viz., that of the triangular female pudendum. In a further reproduction by Maspero (*ib.*, p. 656; *cf.*, fig. 52) we see an exactly similar representation to that shown on *our* Babylonian seal (fig. 24). There is, however, a slight but very important difference between the two Ishtar staffs. That in fig. 24, is based merely by the V-shaped figure we have been considering, while that in fig. 52, is based by a V-shaped figure in which is inserted another inverted V-shaped figure at the end of the staff. Now is this last figure merely meant for a straight line to complete the triangle, such as we see at the base of the staff in fig. 50? We do not think it is. On the contrary, it resembles exactly the inverted V-ending of the three Ishtar staffs together with the one which the goddess holds in her own hand on fig. 51. I believe that we have here (fig. 52) the origin of the diamond or rhomboid figure seen so often on Babylonian seals as signifying the female pudendum, or more correctly the vulva. We have here in fact the sides of two triangles placed practically one upon another with sometimes the end of a staff running through them as is shown on fig 53 (a). On this last figure we have another Ishtar staff (b), at the base of which we have a definitely formed triangle in a reversed position, however, to the triangular pudendum. Yet there can be no doubt that it corresponds to the double triangles at the base of the other staff on the same seal and also to the figures at the base of both Barton's and Hommel's respective drawings of the sign of life, including the V-shaped figures at the respective bases of the staffs



on figs. 24 and 52. We have thus proved that the triangle crowning the Babylonian sign of life, although reversed, definitely signifies the female delta, while the V-shaped figure at its base, in its ordinary or reversed form, is merely a repetition, as I stated in my aforesaid unpublished MS., of the upper triangle. As for the difference in the form of staff (a) from that of staff (b) on fig. 53, I believe that on staff (b) the artist has here repeated the form of one of the sun-pillars to signify that like Samas, Ishtar herself had come through a gate-like opening. Our supposition seems to be warranted when we compare the horizontal lines on Ishtar's staff as shown on fig. 24, with the central pillar-gate on fig. 25, where we have the beginning of one pillar-gate as indicating the complete double pillar-gate.<sup>1</sup> Nor must we neglect to call attention to what evidently is intended to signify the moon crescent which crowns the staff of Ishtar on fig. 52, her star being a little below it on the same staff. We see here an absolute illustration of the transition which took place between Ishtar as goddess of the morning and evening star, and as the Moon-goddess, the queen of heaven, when Sin the Moon-god and father of Samas the sun-god lost his position of chief of the gods, Samas taking his place as chief, while the attributes of the moon-god were transferred to Ishtar (Sayce—*Rel. Anct. Bab.*, p. 165; Jastrow—*Bab-Assyr. Relig.*, p. 79).

We commenced this article by rejecting Prof. Paton's opinion that the conical capped stone, the second of the eight standing stones of the Gezer high-place was a female symbol, the breast of the mother-goddess, seeing in it rather the ancient symbol of the male phallus. It would appear, however, that amongst the Cypriote-Phœnicians, and evidently amongst the Canaanite-Hebrews, a practically similar stone monument was used to signify both the male phallus and the female triangle. That such a combination was usual we see by fig. 54, which is reproduced from a Hittite cylinder. In a recently discovered obelisk (fig. 55), we have a stone pillar once in actual use which evidently portrays the combined male and female phallic emblems, the female triangular pudendum and the male phallic shaft. An inscription on its base informs us

<sup>1</sup>The Egyptians believed that the moon came through the same gate as the sun (Maspero, *ib.*, p. 93). Here is the same thought.

that it was dedicated to Esmun-Adonis, or practically to his prototype Tamuz, the sun-god. This obelisk, found in Cyprus in 1880, and which has been inaccurately identified by Stade, Perrot, McCurdy, and others, with the masseba of the OT which accompanied the Asherah (Pillar—HDB, p. 881), throws great light on the problem of the triangle-capped Asherah pole. It was not of course a definite example of the particular pole, but it shows that a post of such a form was a well-known monument with the Canaanite-Hebrews.

Now Ohnefalsch-Richter, while supplying the evidence, yet failed to see in this obelisk the significance it undoubtedly possesses. In the sketch he gives us of his temporarily rebuilt Astarte-Aphrodite sanctuary he describes the reconstructed cone symbol of this goddess as resembling the Esmun-Adonis obelisk (I, 262). He evidently took his drawing from the cone of the Cyprian coin, fig. 56, with which it better compares than with this obelisk, which is an exactly similar structure to the centre chamman stone of the Sardinian grave monument, fig. 57, with which he also compares it (I, 173).

But while he notes the presence of the sun and moon emblems on this chamman-stone he failed to note their bearing on the Esmun-Adonis stone. Here they do not appear as engraved, but as both stones represent the same idea, these symbols shown in relief on the one actually belong to both, and their place on the one from which they are absent is taken by the outline form of its shaft and its crowned triangle. We have here in fact a further example of the female crowning the male emblem which we saw in fig. 53-b, where Ishtar's star surmounts or crowns a single sun pillar. Indeed the representation of a goddess dwelling in a chamman-stone was quite common in Cyprus, so that there is no difficulty in seeing in this Esmun-Adonis obelisk a shaft representing the male phallus, and the triangular head-piece of the female pudendum. This interesting discovery is fully confirmed by the capital of the Hathor sun-pillar, (fig. 58), found in the sacred precinct of the Idalian Aphrodite. Here, says Ohnefalsch-Richter, we see "the head of Hathor on a semi-circle" (I, 189, 190), which we know to indicate the sun, since Hathor is the personification of that portion of the sky where Horus was born, *i. e.*, the place of sunrise. Two other Hathor capitals were discovered which show the head of this goddess carry-

ing a little temple, in the doorway of which stands a little divinity (fig. 59), "the significance of which," says the discoverer, "cannot be precisely determined" (OR. I. 137, 477). This divinity, however, is simply a reproduction of the goddess herself, proved by the cow's head, the symbol of Hathor, plainly seen on the little image. A terra-cotta cone, evidently a censer (fig. 60), shows Astarte-Aphrodite sitting in a niche. This temple vessel was found in the same locality where the Esmun-Adonis obelisk was discovered. In all these examples we have the same thought of a divinity dwelling within the outward representation.

It will be remembered that I identified the triangular head-piece or crown on the nude Ishtar (fig. 20), with the female pudendum reversed. Hathor's doorway head-piece (*cf.* fig. 62) confirms this conclusion, which is evidently made certain by the triangle enclosing the sun, moon, and a pendant lotus bud, on the capitals of other sun-pillars or chamman-stones (fig. 61). Finally, all this evidence proves that the Esmun-Adonis obelisk is not an example of either the male or female masseba of the OT, but while illustrating both it is in itself a representation of a combined god and goddess.

And here I may state that Baal was never worshipped apart from the thought of his female partner. Baal was a nature deity representing merely the male principle, consequently, associated with him was his necessary consort, Asherah, Ashtoreth, or Astarte representing the female principle. When the Israelites entered Canaan they at once took over the pillar, the asherah, and the altar of the Canaanite high places, since they forsook Yahweh and served the Baals and the Asherahs (Jud. 2. II, 13. 37), which they continued uninterruptedly to serve down to the exile, notwithstanding the fierce opposition of the prophets (Jer. 17. 2. *cf.* Ex. 34. 13). The Baals were represented by stone pillars, the Asherahs by wooden posts capped with a triangle. Prof. Moore, following Prof. W. R. Smith, in the opinion that the Asherah was not a female emblem but rather a general symbol of deity, says, "It does not appear from the OT that the Asherah belonged exclusively to any one deity. The Asherah at Ophra was sacred to Baal; the prohibitions of the law are sufficient proof that they were erected to Yahweh" (Jud. 6. 25; Deu. 16. 21—Asherah, *Ency. Bib.*). We have shown, however, that contrary to his further rejection of the view that Asherah was



a goddess, she had indeed an actual existence as such. Thus the Asherah which Gideon cut down was the symbol not of Baal, but of his female partner, the goddess Asherah. The prohibitions of the law, consequently, were against the erecting of a female partner by the side of an altar to Yahweh, and not against the erecting of an Asherah as his symbol. Thus Sayce is correct in referring to Gideon's Asherah as an emblem which "symbolized the goddess Asherah" (*The Early History of the Hebrews*, p. 307). That there is no mention here of any pillar of Baal destroyed with the Asherah, does not affect the question in the least. As we have said, pillars as well as Asherahs were an indispensable part of Canaanite altar worship (Pillar—Kennedy, HDB.). But further, there is no mention of a pillar in the apostasy of Ahab when he erected an altar of Baal and an Asherah (I K. 16. 32, 33), nevertheless, Jehoram his son is recorded as having put away the pillar of Baal which his father had made (II K. 3. 2). This shows that at Ahab's Baal-altar, as well as an Asherah there stood also a pillar. Thus in the case of Gideon, while the Asherah and the altar are alone mentioned, a pillar must have accompanied them. In OT records it is noticeable that very often details are not mentioned which are supposed to be assumed. The destruction of Baal's altar included his pillar, the Asherah evidently being specially mentioned because it formed the means of offering the burnt sacrifice to Yahweh.

#### *The Double Asherah Pillars or Posts.*

In II K. 10. 26, we read,—“And they brought forth the pillars that were in the house of Baal and burnt them” (RV).

Now Prof. Lumby sees here Baal pillars (*Cam. Bib.*), but for the following reasons we think that he is mistaken, and agree with Ohnefalsch-Richter and Mr. Cowper that these were Asherah posts or pillars indicative of the doorway of human life (I, 190; *ib.*, p. 179).

Lucian informs us that the twin pillars in the temple of Hierapolis bore the inscription that “these phalli were set up by Dionysus to his mother Hera.” Prof. W. R. Smith in rejecting the phallic origin of stone pillars, dual or single, assumes that the inscription in question merely represented a mistaken idea of the Greeks as to the significance of these pillars (RS, p. 457). But the Greeks were right,

since dual pillars formed an ancient well known phallic symbol emblematic of deity either male or female. Ohnefalsch-Richter, while correct in stating that the dual pillars of the sun-god Samas, which were the prototype of the dual pillar cult, were often dedicated to, while representing the gate of, the sun, neglected to explain their phallic origin. As emblematic of the gateway through which the sun was daily born they might appropriately represent a male deity, they would even more appropriately represent a female deity, being, as I have shown, indicative of the vulva, the physical doorway of human life. Trumbull informs us that in an Assyrian city the gates were named after its gods and goddesses, *e. g.*, the gate of Bel, Beltis, Ishtar, etc., *ib.*, p. 95). Here we see a corroboration of our statement that the Ishtar staff of fig. 53, which we have marked b, represents the gate through which Ishtar herself had been born. It is in fact a reflection of the gateway of Samas. Because, however, a god was often represented by either a plain stone pillar or a cone, and both gods and goddesses equally by two or more stone pillars, Prof. W. R. Smith rejected the whole phallic theory of pillar and cones representing deity. His mistake arose owing to the lack of the very evidence which it is one of the main objects of this paper to afford, viz., that dealing with the origin of dual pillars and cones as under special circumstances representing either male or female deity (*ib.*, p. 208). Take for example the very cases upon which his rejection was based, the twin pillars of Hercules at Tyre (to which we add those at Gades), and the twin pillars which stood at Paphos, Hierapolis and at Solomon's temple; together with the cones of Elagabalus and Zeus Casius. The pillars of Hercules at Tyre and Gades owed their existence to the same thought that saw in the mountain peaks of Calpe and Abyla at the respective sides of the *Herculis fretum* which connected the Atlantic and Mediterranean (Oceanus et Magnum Mare) seas, the *Columnæ Herculis*. But behind these are their prototypes, the pillars of Samas, the Babylonian sun-god, through which he made his passage every morning. Nor must it be forgotten that Hercules was both a sun-god and the patron of maritime adventure. Thus these pillars and the later examples could be viewed either as emblematic of the male deity who had passed through them or of the female deity to whom, as we have shown, the idea of the gateway belonged in the first instance. The pillars of Paphos were

cones and all sacred cones were emblems of the same gateway, the triangular *pudendum muliebre*, so that they also bore the double relation similar to that of the pillar gateway.

Now Prof. Davies while seeing in the two pillars of Solomon's temple, Jachin and Boaz, nothing more than ornaments to the Israelites, yet finds their origin in the twin pillars which stood in a like position before the temple at Tyre, Hierapolis, and Paphos. In these cases, he adds, the pillars stood for deity, and they formed a part of that Phallic worship of which we are finding more and more traces in the ancient world. "In attempting to answer the question—why two pillars often represented but one deity?—he assumed that as amongst the Semites and other primitive peoples, gods went in pairs, male and female. Possibly the two pillars stood for male, and female, the active and passive principles in nature" (Boaz—HDB). Sayce, in explaining the twin columns which stood before the door of a Phœnician temple, says, "they symbolized the fertilizing power of the sun-god" (Early History of the Hebrews, p. 468). This last writer is the more correct, since dual *entrance* columns never signified more than one deity, either male or female. In fig. 63, we have a Carthaginian stela which was evidently dedicated both to Tanith and her associated Lord, Baal-Hamman, since we have here not only the dual entrance pillars of a temple representing this sun-god, but the triangle symbols of his spouse, Tanith, one on either side. How far astray eminent scholars could get when lacking the evidence we are here supplying is seen in Prof. W. R. Smith's statement that these triangles may probably be symbols of "the god or goddess indifferently" (*ib.*, p. 478). They are, as we have seen, definite symbols of the goddess Tanith herself; while in the present instance the pillars are definite symbols of her male partner. In fig. 64, we have a representation of the twin pillars of Heracles-Melcarth at Tyre, which are here merely double images of one deity. As to the significance of the tree, I shall refer to that under another heading.

Finally, in fig. 65, we have a small votive chapel or shrine of the dove-goddess, Astarte-Aphrodite, from Idalion. Within the entrance, between the columns, one on either side, stands an image of the goddess showing her association with the dove in her human dove-like form. We are at once put in mind of the "image of



jealousy or indignation," which Ezekiel saw standing near the entrance of the altar gate of the temple (8. 3. 5). In figs. 70, 71, we give representations of what we believe, when compared with fig. 5, and the explanation on p. 289, to have been Macah's image of "horror," a grosser form of Manasseh's Asherah image (2 K. 21. 7). However, I shall refer again to this under its own heading, since, in the present instance, it is with the pillars of this sanctuary we are concerned. They are straight shafts with palm capitals and correspond to the pillars of Solomon's temple. Here they are an example of twin pillars dedicated to a goddess.

*The Fourth Form of the Asherah.*

In the recently published volumes of the Book of Chronicles, by Prof. E. L. Curtiss, the author accepts the "horror" or "abominable thing" of I K. XV. 13; 2 Chron. 15. 16, as signifying a priapic or ithyphallic figure. In other words, a phallic manikin. At least, in quoting Jerome's translation—*Simlacrurn Priapi*, he says, "This interpretation, as good as any, is usually accepted." We do not accept this explanation, however, notwithstanding the most recently published Bible Dictionary (Hastings's) agrees with Smith's in saying that "The idol or 'horror' which she had made for Asherah is supposed to have been the emblem of Priapus, and was so understood by the Vulgate" (*Maachah*); while it further says, "a fright or horror, applied to the idol of *Maachah*, probably of wood, which Asa cut down and burned, and which was unquestionably the *Phallus*, the symbol of the productive power of nature" (Idol).

Referring to the Asherah, Ohnefalsch-Richter says, "Notwithstanding all the paper that has been blackened, the views of the learned on this subject seem to be as divergent as ever" (Text, p. 141). This is perfectly true, yet, at the same time, we cannot help thinking that no such diversity; no such uncertainty touching the solution of this problem, should have existed, as apart from the ascertained fact of the existence of the goddess Asherah, as proved by the inscriptions quoted by Kennedy, and Hommel (Barton—SO, p. 247), the fact itself that the Bible refers to Asherah as having prophets (I K. 13. 19), vessels used in her service (II K. 23. 4), and carved images representing her (I K. 15 13; K. 21. 7 II; II Chron. 33. 7), sufficiently proves her existence. There is even further

evidence which, however, has hitherto not only been completely overlooked, *i. e.*, by most scholars, but where noted it was only so done to reject it. Kuenen had referred to the existence amongst the Israelites of the Kedesha, or the sacred female prostitutes dedicated to the worship of the goddess Asherah. But Collins views this as an entirely unwarranted assumption, arguing that for the service of the "Ashera . . . there were Kedeshim, eunuchs or male prostitutes" (Pro. Scy. Bib. Archæ., p. 303). Jacobs, however, has fully proved that these Sodomites (I K. XV. 24; XXII. 46; II K. XXIII. 7), were the sons of "the Kedishoth or sacred prostitutes attached to the temple before the exile" (Studies in Bib. Archæ., p. 114), and that such people actually existed in Israel is abundantly proved by Gen. 38. 21, and Jos. 4. 14 (RV).

We return to consider this idol 'horror,' which we are told was undoubtedly a priapic image, or phallus. Indeed, Knight would have us believe that it was a sort of Hermaic statuette similar to those of Egypt, and at the temple of the Syrian goddess, and the Venus-Erycina (Sym. Lang. Anct. Art and Myth., pp. 49, 114-189 Asa). This means that the usual asherah symbol of the goddess Astarte, whatever it may have been before, was now altered by queen Maacah to represent not the female, but the male partner of this goddess. It is true that the women of Israel were accustomed to make anthropomorphic male images (Eze. 16. 17), but in the case we are considering, it is not a male image, but an image of the goddess Asherah herself, which is referred to by the Hebrew writer. This is proved by a similar image having been made by King Manasseh which he placed within the temple of Jehovah itself, but which was brought out by order of the reforming King, Josiah, and burned. He brought out *the* Asherah, we are told, not a symbol of something made to go *with* the goddess Asherah, but the Asherah itself, for which certain women wove hangings like the shawl that the women wove for Hera (Pausanias V. 16), and the clothing with which the Israelite women covered their male images (Eze. 16. 18; *cf.* Paus. III. 16). It is thus that Prof. Kennedy, referring to the form of the Asherah in this instance, says, "Something of greater consequence than a mere post or pole. It must have been a celebrated image of the goddess." The sole problem we are, therefore, left to determine

is as to the form of this particular image which is described as "a horror."

Ohnefalsch-Richter is undoubtedly correct in seeing in this "horror," not a male symbol, but a symbol of the female pudendum (Text, p. 146). He went no further, however, than to imply that it was the pudendum of the conical capped or engraved wooden Asherah post. Maspero, commenting upon a similar figure of the nude Ishtar, which I have produced in fig. 5, says,—*"Solomon Reinach has demonstrated that the naked figure is not the goddess herself, but a statue of the goddess which was adored in one of the temples"* (The Dawn of Civilization, p. 695, note). If, consequently, we consider the gross exhibition of the pudendum on figs. 1 to 11, in its bearing on the "horror" of the Bible, we at once see that here we have to do with a similarly carved anthropomorphic image of the goddess Asherah. In fig. 66, we have a drawing of a terra-cotta female idol found by Ohnefalsch-Richter in a grove of Astarte-Aphrodite in Cyprus, and which he describes as "very archaic" (Text, p. 267). He compares this with fig. 7, the original of which he dug up near Chytris, and which he says, "is the most archaic figure wearing the nose ring hitherto found, and can only represent the Paphian goddess." Now I believe that in figs. 66, 67, and especially 70 and 71, we have images of Astarte-Aphrodite which portray the more or less actual features of Maacah's anthropomorphic image of Asherah, that is of course assuming that it was a complete human image. I shall deal with figs. 70, 71 first, since we shall have more to say about the two former figures. In figs. 70, 71, we have a Chaldean conception of the goddess of love and fertility. It is Ishtar, and here we see her nude charms such as those which Ukhat exposed to Eabani for a similar purpose (Jastrow—Bab-Assyrie. Relig., p. 475) represented with terrible grossness, so that we can understand that Israel's prophets would view such a figure as a veritable horror (Perrot and Chipiez's "Art in Chaldea and Assyria, Vol. I. p. 83; 2, p. 92). The two figures 66, 67, are of a somewhat later period and consequently depicted with greater skill. It is with the breast pendant on figs. 66, 67, and 71 that we are now mostly concerned. I would recall, however, touching the entire nudity of these figures that Maspero quotes Reinach as



having shown that the statue of the nude Ishtar was adored in one of the temples. But if in Babylonia why not in Palestine? Thus it is certain that Maacah's "horror," made as an Asherah, was one of these gross representations of the nude goddess.

And now for figs. 66, 67. When the bust pendant on the former is compared with that on the latter, which we take from McCurdy's article, "Semitic Religion," in "A Standard Bible Dictionary," it will at once be recognized as the symbol of the sun's disc, especially if we compare both pendants with the Egyptian winged sun-discs, figs. 68, 69. Now these pendants, worn as we see them, within the hollow of the bosom, at once explain the admonition given prophetically to the daughters of Israel by Hosea to put away from between their breasts their adulteries. Further, the nose rings on figs. 7, 68, 69, are specially emphasized by Hosea under the expression of whoredoms to be put off from the face, as the sun discs, symbols of adulteries, were to be put away from between the breasts. Israel's daughters decked themselves with the special insignia of the goddess of free love when going after their paramours (Hos. 2. 2, 13). Of these ornaments the necklace with its bust pendant was the chief. The modern custom of Cypriote maidens of wearing a triangle as a love charm to win them husbands, the triangle being suspended by a necklace and worn on the bust in the same position as the disc on the statue of Astarte-Aphrodite, and evidently similarly worn by the women of Israel, is referred to in Canticles, where a lover says to his mistress,—*"Thou hast ravished my heart . . . with one chain of thy neck"* (4. 9). Now from parallel instances we may well assume that this necklace possessed a pendant somewhat similar to the pendant on the statuettes and figurines of our Astarte-Aphrodite, and which we have shown to be the sun disc, the symbol of the sun-god, Adonis, the child and mate of Astarte-Aphrodite, who wore his symbol while he wore hers, the triangle (fig. 14). It is thus that we hear of the Israelites worshipping the sun-image or obelisk in conjunction with the asherah post (Isa. 17. 8), the former in later times having taken the place of the plainer stone pillar of Baal, whom, nevertheless, it equally represented as a Baal of the sun.

In assuming that the pillars of II K. 10. 26, were dual pillars as distinguished from the single Baal pillar of verse 27, we see in them the Asherah made by Ahab, which, consequently, corresponded to

Mr. Cowper's *Senams* (*ib.*, p. 179). Manassah's Asherah we may, as previously contended for reasons given (*AJRP*—March, 1906), confidently assume was made after a complete anthropomorphic pattern. It is most likely that Maacah's "abominable image" which she made for, that is, in place of the usual Asherah, was a similar image more grossly made. It may, however, have had a condensed form of what the full image itself was equally meant to represent. That in fact, it was a similar exhibition to the huge conventional symbol of the vulva seen on the old Cappadocian rock-reliefs of Boghaz-Kieui belonging to the 8th cent. (*OR*, I. pp. 147, 170; pls. 69, 81; fig. 72). Westropp, in his "Primitive Symbolism" (p. 30), records that in Rome, in the month of April, an image of the phallus was carried in a cart led in procession by the women devotees to the temple of Venus outside the Collin gate, and presented by them to a conventionalized although very life-like image of the sexual parts of the goddess. I have in my possession the photograph of a signet ring, discovered amongst other Roman remains, which depicts this very festival (fig. 73). I show here merely the kteis or yoni. Strabo informs us that at Rome there was a temple of Venus Erycina, just before the Collin gate, and he implies that here the same prostitution was practised in the name of this goddess as at Eryx in Sicily (VI. 2. 6). It is evident, therefore, that in this Roman temple there was such an image of the vulva as is shown in our figures from the rock reliefs mentioned and from this signet ring. I may add that the centre object in our figure from these reliefs has been identified with the phallus, and undoubtedly corresponds with the phallus on the signet ring.

In Canticles V. 4, the maiden describes her lover as coming at night while she slept and putting his hand into "the hole of the door," whereupon she awoke, but only to find her lover gone. Now the expression "hole in the door" is a euphemism, which, while in the present instance it has a surface meaning, the hole in the house door through which the hand was thrust to slide back the inside bolt which kept the door fastened, nevertheless, it includes the underlying significance of this euphemistic expression which has reference to the sexual parts of the lover's mistress. In the preceding chapter under similar euphemistic language, the lover had described his mistress as "a garden shut . . . a fountain sealed," for the open-

ing of which for amatory indulgence he yearns. His mistress prepares to give way, but in rising to gratify her lover, finds that he has left her (vers. 12, 16). In chap. 8. 5, we have another euphemistic reference to the female sexual parts in the statement of the assumed brothers concerning their "little sister." "If she be a door we will enclose her with boards of cedar," meaning, if she be an unlocked or unbolted door, a loose entrance for promiscuous lovers, she shall be sealed up with boards. Comparing this with the previous representation of the maiden as a fountain sealed, we at once see the sexual significance. A passage in the Talmud represents a newly married husband returning his wife to her father with the words,—“I thought I was getting a sealed fountain, but I found an open door.”

Now the Hebrew word for female means, "the perforated," that is, one with a hole or opening. We see this thought in the passage already referred to where there is an allusion to these perforations (Isa. 3. 17). That the idolatry practised by the Israelites included veneration of, and worship at, openings regarded as symbols of the vulva we see from Isa. 57. 6. That Semitic phallic worship included equally reverence paid to both the male and female symbols, is shown in figs. 74, 75. The first is an Egyptian seal discovered at Nineveh and depicts the god Harpocrates adoring a life-like symbol of the vulva. The second is a triangular cone of the Paphian goddess through the hole of which it was customary to take oath by persons standing on either side and clasping hands through the opening. We have here a corresponding phallic oath to that taken by the servant of Abraham when placing his hand upon the phallus of his master. In fig. 76, we have an ancient Italian representation of the Indian combined lingam and yoni. The oval opening corresponds to the opening on the triangle of the previous figure. I may add that in the vestibule of an ancient Church at Rome there is a large perforated stone, in the hole of which the Romans are said to have placed their hands when taking a solemn oath (Howard—*Sex-Worship*, p. 138). The foregoing evidence shows that it is just possible that Maacah's image of "horror," may have taken the form of a symbol of the female sexual part seen in our illustrations. It may, however, have been given the extra emphasis simply because it was the first time that a nude goddess of nature exhibiting



evidently exaggerated female parts had been introduced into the temple at Jerusalem as the nude similarly depicted Ishtar was exhibited in the temples in Babylonia. I incline to this view, seeing in Manassah's Asherah a similar image to that made by Maacah. When the first horror had been expressed, subsequent similar images would be viewed with less excitement. That Manasseh's Asherah was an anthropomorphic figure we further gather from the statement touching the tunics woven for it by woman votaries (2 K. 23. 7), which reminds us of the tunic Pausanias records as worn on the statue of Athene in the Parthenon at Athens, or the shawl woven by the women of Ellis at that place for the statue of Hera which stood there (I. 24; V. 16). Especially do we gather that we are dealing here with an anthropomorphic image because of the incense vessel from the Cyprian Artemis-Asherah sanctuary showing the goddess gowned with a tunic and sitting in a niche on the outside of the censer. We are surely warranted in comparing this vessel to the vessels for incense brought out of the temple of Jehovah and destroyed by Josiah, vessels which belong to Baal and the Asherah (2 K. 23. 4; 2 Chron. 30. 14 RV.). The goddess in the niche of this Cyprian censer is surely a miniature of the larger Asherah which stood within the temple. No wonder that Prof. Kennedy assumes that we are dealing here with an "image of the goddess," and not a mere symbol, such as a pole or post.

Returning to figs. 66, 67, showing the nude Astarte-Aphrodite wearing the sun-disc bust pendant. So far as I am aware no image of Astarte has as yet been discovered in Palestine exhibiting this ornament, but from the evidence produced it would seem that we are warranted in assuming that the nude mother-goddess so adorned was well known to the Israelites. Thus we may see in Manasseh's, and possibly Maacah's, Asherah, an image similarly decorated. Now the above conclusion, if correct, throws unexpected light upon the Cestus band which Homer represents Hera as soliciting from Aphrodite. I have already dealt with this subject in a previous number of this magazine (July, 1909—The Magic Girdle of Aphrodite), but with the further investigation which I have here produced, much fuller evidence is furnished for the acceptance of the conclusion there arrived at. I shall, therefore, again refer to Homer's Cestus. Homer represents Hera as asking Aphrodite for her Cestus

in the following words,—“Give me now love and desire with which thou dost overcome all immortals and mortal men (II. XIV. 198). Thus in veiled language is the goddess of love asked for the loan of a specific object which in itself possessed the powers sought by Hera. In plain words, Hera asked for the love amulet which Aphrodite wore suspended round her neck, and to which it would further seem a bust pendant was attached. So requested, Aphrodite “loosed, took, or removed from her bosom the wrought band, subtly or magically designed (214) which she put into the hands of Hera, saying,—“Here now, place in thy bosom this subtly or magically wrought band wherein all things are contained,” further hinting that what Hera desired would by this gift be accomplished (219). Taking the amulet, Hera “then put it on within her bosom” (224), finally through its aid accomplishing that for which she had sought it.

Now the drift and completion of this incident, makes it very clear that we are fully warranted in rendering the passages quoted as we have done, since the episode shows that it could not have been a mere embroidered breast-band (strophion), nor yet a loin girdle (zone), which Aphrodite gave to Hera, but, on the contrary, a wrought chain subtly made to possess magical powers. It was, as Leaf concedes (Iliad Vol. II p. 81), a charm, an amulet, which inspired in the beholder amorous relations with the wearer. It therefore could not have been a breast-band, as no such power was ever recorded as belonging to such an article of dress. It was not the waist girdle, as it was taken from off the bosom. It was not an object embroidered and worked in various colors, such as a piece of needlework, but an object wrought by a craftsman in metal, a gold or silversmith, and cunningly made or designed to possess magical power. Neither *kestos*, nor *polukestos*, need necessarily be translated embroidered and richly embroidered, respectively (Iliad 214, cf. III. 371), but rather wrought or fashioned, and well-fashioned. This last rendering harmonizes more with the subsequent description of the strap to which it refers. It was a strong piece of leather taken from an ox that had been slaughtered, and not one that had died of disease, thus insuring the perfection or strength of the leather (375). So we have in the previous allusion (371) a description of the strap as well-fashioned or made, owing to which, as drawn tight

under the chin of Paris in order to keep his helmet on, it would not break or come apart as Menelaos was dragging him away by the horse-hair crest of his helmet. Paris, consequently, was being strangled by this strong or tough bullhide strap of his head-piece when Aphrodite came quickly to his rescue and tore it asunder. I may add, that nowhere in Homer is *kestos*, nor *polukestos*, used to indicate a sewn or embroidered piece of material. In like manner *poikilon*, translated to signify beautifully embroidered, may equally mean, cunningly devised to contain all the enchantments of love, especially in this case, as the wrought band or strap in question did actually possess this very power. Mr. Leaf himself concedes that the whole expression (*The Companion to the Iliad*, p. 248-214), "may be a loose one." We are therefore to explain the words used by the thought evidently in the mind of the writer, and not his thought by the words employed to express it.

*Recent Scholarship on Homer's Cestus-Band.*

The volume of this magazine in which, as I have said, I had fully discussed the question of Homer's *Cestus*, so far as I had then examined it, I forwarded to Mr. Purser, of Trinity College, Dublin, author of the article—*Cestus*—in both *Smith's* and *Harper's Classical Dictionaries*, where in both he had concluded that this *Cestus* was a *strophion* or breast-band. I here quote part of his reply,—

"I have read your article and letter with much interest and profit. You certainly make out a most powerful case in support of the view that the '*Cestus*' was a neck-band; and I now think, owing to your presentation of the whole case, that such is the right view. It was, as you say plainly, a magical amulet. Something in fact like the Roman '*bullæ*,' which was an amulet enclosed in a case (gold or leather) and hung around the neck." Mr. Purser further accepted my view that the amuletic power of Homer's *Cestus*-band, and Valerius Flaccus's *Monilia*, which was worn by Medea as a neck and bust chain, after having been borrowed by Juno from Venus, had been derived from the East as there exhibited in a similar ornament on the figurines and statuettes of the mother-goddess.

In his "*Life in the Homeric Age*," the late Prof. Seymour assumed, "That the *Cestus* of Aphrodite contained all love charms is simply part of the mighty influence of the goddess" (p. 516). It



is very evident that he missed the real reason underlying the assumed powers of the Cestus. As a love charm it undoubtedly owed its power to the fact that suspended between the breasts it aided in drawing attention to a finely shaped bosom. The epithet "deep-bosomed" was well known as referring to the shapely fullness of the breasts of a young woman (*Bathukolpos*). So Æschylus refers to "the beautiful deep hollowed bosoms" of two of his female characters (*The Seven Against Thebes*, p. 130, lines 858, 9—Harper; p. 61, line 3, 4—Bohn). The latter is a translation, however, and incorrectly renders the original—lovely deep-cinctured bosoms, which hides the real significance, since it is the hollow within the bosom which the poet here emphasizes, and which would be greatly emphasized by the pendant resting between the breasts.

The bust of Venus is said by an ancient poet to have been the most beautiful part of her nude charms, and it was partly by her lovely bosom that Homer represents Helen as recognizing Aphrodite (III. 397). It was even so with the fair Lais, Athenæus telling us that "painters used to come to her to copy her bosom and her breasts" (XIII. 54). Aristophanes puts these words into the mouth of one of his characters,—“Of a truth, Menelaus, when he had taken a side glance at the breasts of Helen when naked, threw away his sword” (Bohn. Vol. II, p. 396). Anacreon desires a maiden with a young and beautiful bust—"A girl with a *deep*, or hollow, bust, and girls with youthful bosoms" (Od. 42. 5). So Cornelius Gallus says,—“a stiff and firm bosom sets the eyes on fire” (El. 5). When we turn to Scripture we find here also emphasis laid upon the recognized witchery of a young and perfect female bust. Thus Ezekiel in picturing the whoredoms of Israel in associating herself with foreign pagan powers, characterizes it as the handling and pressing of the "fashioned . . . breasts of thy youth" (16. 7; 23. 3, 21). Canticles pictures the breasts of a maiden as "Clusters of the vine;" "towers of a wall," and describes her lover as "a bundle of myrrh that lieth betwixt my breasts" (7. 8; 8. 10; 1. 13). Finally, Proverbs makes Wisdom admonish her son to be satisfied at all times with the breasts of his young wife; to be ravished always with her love; and not to press the bosom of a stranger (5. 19, 20).

I call attention to these statements of Scripture and ancient classical writers in order to show that the necklace with its bust

pendant so frequently exhibited upon the statuettes and figurines of the lascivious mother-goddess, undoubtedly derived its assumed power from the acknowledged fascination of a finely shaped female bust and not from the fact of its being an ornament of a goddess. That this particular necklace had this power is not only proved by such power being credited to an ordinary female necklace, but specially on account of the pendant suspended between the swelling breasts of the goddess. The two points have been already noted, but we shall now return to them, specially emphasizing the latter.

Mr. Purser, in his communication referred to, fully accepted my conclusion that the Cestus of Aphrodite was a necklace, his words being, "on your main contention that the cestus was probably a necklace, I agree; and thank you much for your able discussion of the point." Alluding, however, to my contention that the pendant on figs. 66 and 67, was a symbol of the sun, he wrote,— "Whether it was supposed to represent the sun (as you suggest) or has some other origin, I cannot say . . . Your references to the oriental statues are most interesting." Here, however, Prof. Barton, to whom I had submitted the point with my discussion thereon, replied,— "I am inclined to think that your main contention, that the sun-disc was an emblem of fertility closely associated with the goddess of that function, is right." Now if we compare figs. 68 and 69, which accompany the drawings of the goddess wearing the pendant in question, we can see for ourselves that the pendant she wears between the breasts was undoubtedly the symbol of the sun's disc. Further, that this disc as typifying generative force, was so worn on the breast of this goddess is definitely proved by the breast ornaments worn by the archaic Kyprian Artemis and her priestess. Amongst them is a small human figure, and we are immediately reminded of Ezekiel's statement that the daughter of Israel in playing the harlot had taken their beautiful vessels of gold and silver making of them "images of men" (16. 17). Prof. Toy explains these as "Images of gods in human shape, probably Canaanitish," but he adds, "of the forms of these images we have no details" (SBOT-Ezekiel, p. 126).

In fig. 77, I give a drawing of a statuette of a priestess of Artemis which shows her wearing a human image suspended from a sun-disc which rests between the breasts attached to a neck-band or chain

enlarged in fig. 78. Now Ohnefalsch-Richter at first refers to this neck-band as "an embroidered strap or twisted cord, but he later alludes to it as recalling "the *kestos imas*, embossed strap, of Homer, that magic girdle which Aphrodite loosed from her bosom and gave to Hera" (Text, p. 307). Now notice the strap on the enlarged representation of it, and it is abundantly clear that we are here dealing with an object belonging to the craft of a gold or silversmith, and not to a weaver or worker of embroidery fashioned with a needle. Here, then, undoubtedly we have an ornament somewhat similar to Homer's cestus-band, and thus my rendering of the original passage as—loosed from her bosom the wrought band subtly, or magically, designed—similar to the necklace of Harmonia, was fully warranted.

In Feb., 1910, in a reply to a communication from me, Andrew Lang wrote, "It does not seem possible to know what Homer meant by the 'Cestus.' It may have been a necklace hanging over the breast, or a talisman, or a pendant amulet. As we have no representation of the thing in art (very late Minoan or sub-Minoan), it is impossible to do more than guess, and I never guess. . . . No later author than Homer knew anything on the subject. I was unaware that the triangle (as on Bass's Beer.) was phallic. What will phallicists not call phallic?"

The foregoing investigation, however, shows that it was quite possible to do more than *guess* as to the probable form and character of the amulet which Homer intimates was worn by Aphrodite. It would seem that in fig. 78, we have an exact reduplication of the strap or band which he represents this goddess as removing from her bosom and giving to Hera. I do not believe that we have here a mere twisted cord of fibre or leather, but either a jointed and embossed gold or silver chain corresponding to the material of the ornaments attached to it as pendants, or perhaps more likely a twisted cord of gold or silver wire. Thus is shown my warrant for rendering II. XIV. 14, as the wrought band—the work of a gold or silversmith. That Homer does not directly mention its pendant amulet does not affect the question, since Mr. Purser called my attention to the fact that Juvenal applies the term "*Lorum*" (a strap or thong like *imas*), to the "*bullæ*" (5.165), just as Homer evidently uses the term *imas* or *imanta* as including its amulet pendant without mentioning this latter. I may add, that while



Ohnefalsch-Richter thinks that this statuette of Artemis belongs probably to the 5th cent. B. C., it exhibits the ornaments worn at a much earlier period, proved by Hosea's undoubted reference to such symbols as worn between the breasts by the Israelitish women of this period (780 B. C.). From all this it would seem that not only are we able to know what Homer himself meant by the Cestus-band but that later Latin writers *did* know something of the subject, as is seen in the description of Homer's Cestus as a necklace given by both Martial and Flaccus (XIV. 106, 107; VI. 465. ff.). It would further seem that we have a description of the Cestus in art which goes back at all events to the sub-Minoan period, as witnessed by the statuettes in question. Finally, we have produced abundant evidence to show that the triangle *was* a phallic symbol, all of which tends to prove that Dr. Lang was wrong in all his statements.

That the women of Israel should have worn the manikin and sun-disc as symbols of Adonis is not strange, since the OT presents abundant evidence that they were devotees of this god. Thus in Isa. 17. 10, in the margin of the English Revised Version we have the alternate rendering—"plantings of Adonis" for the general text,— "pleasant plants." We have here in a euphemistic phrase an undoubted reference to this god (Adonis—HDB; Ency. Bib.; Cam. Bib.), whose ritual included the plantings of quick growing and rapidly fading miniature gardens. The conclusion of this verse,— "and settest it with strange slips," reads literally as in the margin,— "with vine slips of a strange god," and shows that we are here dealing with a ritual practice which belonged to the cult of Adonis as worshipped in Palestine, Syria, and Phœnicia. Again, Prof. Sayce tells us that "in Canaan Tammuz was addressed as Adonai 'my lord,' the Greek Adonis "(Tammuz—HDB); while Prof. Koenig in Hastings's One Volume Dictionary informs us that amongst the Phœnicians "this god was worshipped under the title of Adon." Now Prof. Hommel in discussing the question as to the religious belief which obtained in Palestine at the period of the Tel el-Amarna letters (1400 B. C.), concludes from an examination of the personal names appearing in these letters that "Astarte and Baal hold the first place, the latter frequently appearing under his characteristic names, Adon = Lord, and Milk or Melek = King, the former under the name Asherah." Subsequently, from the personal names

in use at the time of Saul and David, he tells us that "by that date the Israelites had proved unfaithful to their ancient traditions, and had allowed themselves to be deeply influenced by the religion of the conquered Canaanites" (The Ancient Hebrew Tradition, p. 224. *cf.* 303). On page 226, however, he represents Israel's religion at the date of the Patriarchal Period as employing the divine name El "to the *exclusion* of other gods." We have seen, however, that Prof. Sayce views the name Adonai as the Canaanite equivalent for Tammuz, or at all events as the title by which Tammuz was addressed. But Abraham addressed Yahweh by the same title after he became aware that it was a divine being to whom he had been talking, and to whom he had at first given what is represented by commentators as a mere title of courtesy (Genesis—Driver). But the term "Adonai," is, as Prof. Bennett tells us, a "divine name" (Theol. of the Old Test., p. 98), and as Prof. Sayce further tells us that in Canaan Tammuz was known by this name, it is very evident that Abraham addressed Yahweh by a name he knew was used by the Canaanites as indicating the Babylonian god Tammuz. We are dealing here with a somewhat analogous case to that of Abraham and Melchizedek, so far as both instances reflect the thought of deity. In the latter narrative Abraham pays tithes to, and is blessed in the name of, a local Canaanite deity, El Elyon, by whom in this incident Abraham swears, since it is not he who identifies El Elyon with Jahweh, but the narrator or a later glossator (Genesis—Driver; Sayce—The Early History of the Hebrews, p. 31, Dillmann—Genesis, p. 52. Vol. II). By comparing these two narratives, consequently, so far as they reflect the ideas of deity as entertained by Abraham, we see that he could not possibly have viewed Yahweh as the sole or even the most important deity. Thus, if he was ready to swear by a Canaanite deity on one occasion, it is evident that he was not averse to recognize Yahweh as Adonai upon another, which tends to prove that the name by which he addresses Yahweh in Gen. 18. 3—Adonai—was used by him as the name of a Canaanite deity. This conclusion finds warrant in the fact that at this period Yahweh was not viewed by the Patriarchs as a god of Palestine. In other words, the deity worshipped by Abraham in Palestine was a foreign god, and as Abraham had no very clear idea of deity, and was ready, as we have seen, to swear by a Canaanite god, it

is not at all surprising that he should have used the name of a Canaanite god, when addressing a divine being on Canaanite soil. Nor must it be forgotten that Abraham willingly pitched his tent near sacred trees, and there reared an altar for worship (Gen. 12 6; 13. 18).

Now from all this we gather that the so-called lapses from a purer faith, which Hommel sees in Israel's frequent idolatrous outbursts, are actually nothing more than emphasis laid by the prophets upon the opposition of the people against their continuous denunciation of practices natural to Israel as the outcome of their national religion. It was from thoughts engendered by their national religion that the prophets labored to lead the people to higher conceptions of Yahweh. The people as a whole served a Baalized Yahweh. This is the reason why the prophets found such difficulty in getting them to alter their conception of Yahweh, whom they viewed as desiring the same character of worship as Baal, Moloch, and Chemosh. Israel's religion, as we are accustomed to view it, with its high ethical standards and exalted conception of God, is rather the religion of Israel's Prophets, beginning with Elijah. To these Seers alone is due the fact that Israel's religion became ethical and spiritual (Barton—Israel HDB). The popular theology as believed in by the people and their national religious teachers, the priests, the mouthpieces of popular thought and feeling, confused Yahweh with other gods, thus he was worshipped with the symbols and rites of other deities (Bennett—Theol. OT, pp. 9-11; Kent—His. Heb. People, p. 97). I have for many years now held that there were practically two religions of Israel, real Mosaism, a religion very little differentiated, if at all, from the religion of the people by whom Israel was surrounded, and ethical monotheism, a development beginning practically in the 8th cent. and continued through and beyond the exile (Idolatry—Compston, HDB). The true character of Israel's national religion against which the prophets brought such an emphatic and sweeping condemnation, will be shown in the next and concluding section under the heading of "Israel's Tree, Serpent, and Phallic Worship." I would here merely note the fact that the distinguished scholar, Prof. Cheyne, of Oxford, has just published a volume entitled, "The Two Religions of Israel." It is the result, we are informed by the Editor of The Expository Times, March, 1911,



of a series of emended texts. These emendations may or may not stand the test of future criticism, but one thing is certain, viz., that the old degeneration theory which charged the Canaanites with being the cause of the Israelites falling into the sin of idolatry in face of the more critical enquiry of to-day is no longer tenable. The assumed lapses of Israel from a pure to an impure faith are matters of mere imagination on the part of those who would read into the early history of Israel conceptions which were the outcome of the thought of later ages. It is only by thus viewing the evolution of Israel's religious belief that we can understand the true attitude of the people to an idolatry which the prophets denounced. To the former the latter were introducers of new ideas and conceptions utterly at variance with the national idea of Yahweh. This is the reason why the prophets found such difficulty in obtaining a hearing for their divine message. The point, however, which I desire mainly to emphasize by this brief examination into the history of Israel's religion is that in its growth there was ample room afforded for the worship of other gods besides Yahweh, room of which the people and their national leaders, priests and princes, did not fail freely to avail themselves. Hence the confusion of Yahweh with other deities, a confusion participated in even by Abraham, who in Gen. 18, gives to Yahweh the title of Adonai, a Canaanite deity worshipped at that period (Tammuz—HDB; Genesis, p. 24. Bennett). Further, this Father of Israel was perfectly willing to acknowledge and swear by the god of Melchizedek, whom he identifies with Yahweh although a Canaanite deity (Genesis—Driver, Bennet; Sayce—Early His. Heb., p. 29). Finally, at the time of Hosea, we have seen the women of Israel wearing the insignia of Adonis. It will be remembered that I referred to Prof. Hilprecht's regret that Dr. Trumbull had not gone into greater detail touching the rôle the serpent played in the primitive rite he discussed, and also as to the precise connection in which the tree and phallus stand to the threshold in each of the principal religions. As to the rôle of the serpent, I think it will be admitted that already we have amply shown that here it is to be clearly regarded as the male phallic emblem. We have not yet, however, touched definitely upon the relation of the tree and phallus to the threshold. To this, as throwing further light on the sign of the mother-goddess, we shall now turn.

*The Tree, Serpent and Phallus.*

Dr. Trumbull states that, "The tree or bush, is a universal symbol of the feminine in nature" (*ib.*, p. 214). For this assertion, while true, he gave practically no evidence. This, consequently, we ourselves will endeavor to supply.

Prof. Koenig, referring to the word Asherah tells us that it came "in later times to be used mainly as the name for the symbol of this goddess, viz., a tree in allusion to the fruitfulness of the life of nature" (Symbol-HDB). Here Prof. Koenig assumes that a tree as representing a mother-goddess was chosen because of its being a sign of nature's productiveness. In keeping with this we have Ishtar, another mother-goddess, identified with vegetation as the deity by whom it is produced (Jastrow—Bab-Assyr. Relig., p. 563). Prof. W. R. Smith sees in the tree of life (Gen. II, III) a primitive vegetarianism. That he is correct, is shown in the fact that in Babylonia the female palm tree was regarded as the stay and support of life. As such it was viewed as the sacred tree *par excellence* (Barton—SO, p. 92), being identified with Ishtar who was named "the goddess of the tree of life" (Sayce—Relig. Anct. Bab., p. 238 ff.). As with Babylonia so with Egypt, where the tree of life is the habitat of Nut, referred to as "Lady of the Sycamore, who bringeth bread, fruit, and water" (OR. I, 101). The sycamore of the East is a fruit-tree (Amos 7. 14) of a remarkable character bearing several crops of figs during the year. However, there is reason to think that in Egypt the palm was the original sacred tree. So it was in Etruria; while in Crete it was the fig-tree (Burrows—Discoveries in Crete, p. 134), as it was also in far off India, as well as in imperial Rome (Trumbull, *ib.*, p. 258; Frazer—Golden Bough, Vol. I, p. 169). It is true that trees were also worshipped as the abode of gods, but the instances given are sufficient to show that the tree *most* worshipped was the female tree on account of its fruit-producing quality. The difference in sex amongst trees was very early recognized—which resulted amongst other matters in the association of the serpent with the female fruit tree, the serpent being the sign of active or propagating life. In fig. 79, we have what Inman evidently correctly assumed to be a Greek representation of the seductiveness of Circe (*ib.*, p. 55). The young man is presumably Telemachus, and

the tree and serpent come from the garden of Hesperides. The picture, from its very plain representation tells its own story clearly, since every detail has a definite phallic significance. The attitude of the nude female as she embraces the male needs no comment. The tree is an apple tree, and "Eve's Apple," as the fruit she gave her husband is an assumed fact with many writers (Crawley—*The Mystic Rose*, p. 382). This idea, which, however, is not warranted, since the fruit Adam ate was more likely a date or a fig, has been derived from the fact than an apple has from earliest times been viewed as possessing aphrodisiac qualities. Crawley records that in South Slavonia the bride eats half an apple and gives the other half to the bridegroom, who eats it with her. Arnobius informs us that a certain Nana conceived a son by an apple (*op. cit.*, p. 236). The lover in *Canticles* when sick of love, asks to be refreshed with apples by his mistress. He complains, however, that she is a garden closed, a fountain sealed. Yet he continues to describe her form as a picture for delights, a stately palm, her breasts its clusters, and into whose branches he desires to climb, trusting that then those breasts will be as the clusters of the vine (2. 5; 4. 12; 7. 6-8). Compare the serpent of fig. 79, as it climbs into the branches of the tree, with the serpent encircling the egg and the tree stump (figs. 80, 81). Recall the idols showing the serpent near the vulva; see the tree on the right side of the two last figures and the concha shell of Venus on the opposite sides, and the scene in fig. 79, speaks, as we said, for itself. We see the serpent, the symbol of virility within a tree, the symbol of femininity. It is in fact but another form of the combined lingam and yoni of India.

In figs. 82-84, we have representations from Assyrian-Babylonian seals of the act of fertilizing the female palm artificially. In the celebrated seal depicting what has been erroneously assumed to be Adam and Eve on either side of the tree of knowledge, we have simply a god initiating, probably a priest or royal personage into the ritual of fertilizing the sacred tree (fig. 85).

Throughout this whole paper my object in discussing the sign of the mother-goddess, chiefly in the Semitic race, has been to show how large a part phallicism occupied in the religion of Israel. In fact, that Israel's entire religion as taught by its ordinary leaders, and adhered to by its princes and people from the beginning of



their history until the exile, was based upon phallicism, a form of religion in which a female deity occupied the chief place amongst the gods.

In his epoch-making work, "Semitic Origins," a volume written by a follower of the thought of the eminent scholar, W. R. Smith, the pupil, as in so many like cases, has surpassed the master. I refer to Prof. Chs. A. Barton, whose book, dealing as it does with the deep problems in the study of Semitic Religion, yet reads like a novel. Here Dr. Barton has shown that Ishtar was the primitive Semitic deity, the forerunner of all masculine deities, Yahweh himself being merely a transformed mother-goddess. He sees evidence of this in the prominence given to the rite of circumcision, and the use of the stone pillar in religious observances (pp. 102, 280). The origin of the latter he sees in the recognition of the phallus as an organ sacred to deity. To this he adds the wooden Asherah post, complete only as an object of ritual when embellished with the emblem of a doorway, symbolic of the physical doorway of life (Israel—HDB, p. 409). The existence of this embellishment he was good enough to credit me with having definitely brought to light, his words in a communication under date July 18th, 1907, being,— "What your new evidence proves is not that we were wrong in regarding the Asherah as a stump or pole of wood stuck in the earth, but that we did not know that this pole was a branch surmounted by a natural triangle." I had held this view in an article published in this journal in March, 1906, but I had there rejected the opinion that the Asherah had originated in tree-worship which the Asherah pole symbolized. Further study of the problem convinced me that I was in error here, that in fact the Asherah had had four forms. A tree; a post embellished as stated and representing the original thought of a tree; dual posts or pillars representing a horizontal doorway; and, finally a complete human image. The evidence of all this is first, that Ishtar was originally a tree-goddess dwelling in the female date palm. Her emblem alongside of the altar where she was worshipped consisted of a branch of this tree as a pole stuck into the ground and embellished as described. Thus it is that she was named, "Mother of the Sacred Pole" (Smith, *ib.*, p. 189). That dual pillars definitely represented a ritual gateway

amongst the Semites we have fully shown, being so understood and used even by the Israelites. Finally, the goddess was represented with a complete anthropomorphic image, such as we have given in our several figures. That the original living tree sometimes took the place of its representative pole is proved by figs. 64, 76, of which there are other examples (Toy—Ezekiel, p. 182). This is not to be wondered at when we recall that Abraham planted a sacred tree beneath which he reared an altar and called upon Yahweh (Gen. 21. 33; cf. 12. 6-8). Thus the Asherah which stood under every green tree with an altar and a pillar was undoubtedly a representative of a tree although the pole was chiefly used to exhibit the threshold doorway, a triangle. This brings me to consider fig. 86 which depicts Bel-Hanan-Beluzur a Babylonian ruler participating in an act of phallic worship (Maspero—*The Passing of the Empires*, p. 208). With "thumb inserted between the first and second fingers," a well-known phallic sign he holds the "phallic hand" in front of the emblem of the sun-pillar, behind which stands the phallic emblem of the moon, the triangle on a staff. This last symbol we see on the altar in fig. 87. Here it is not, as stated by Perrot and Chipiez, a symbol of the arrow-head writing set up on end (*Art in Chal. Assy.*, Vol. II, p. 198), but, as may easily be seen by comparing it with figs. 23, 24, 48-53, the Asherah post with its triangular headpiece. Figs. 88, 89, show that such a staff crowned with a triangle representing the moon, or moon-goddess was in common use. The first figure is taken from a Cyprian cylinder dating about 2000 B. C. where it stands in conjunction with a representation of a sacred tree, which tends to prove my opinion that the crowned Asherah post was, touching its staff, derived from and often stood under, as its representative, a real tree. In the present instance the actual moon crescent corresponds to the moon crescent on figs. 52, and shows that the triangle in a similar position was a phallic symbol of Ishtar the mother-goddess. The second figure was discovered in Palésthine by Bliss and Macalister (*Excavations in Palestine*, pl. 64, fig. 57), and evidently exhibits the same triangle symbol as we see on fig. 44. Prof. Kennedy was undoubtedly correct in viewing the sun-pillar as emerging in latter times as the substitute for the earlier simple plain standing stone-pillar of Baal, but it seems to us that he is entirely mistaken in seeing in the standing pillar alongside of an

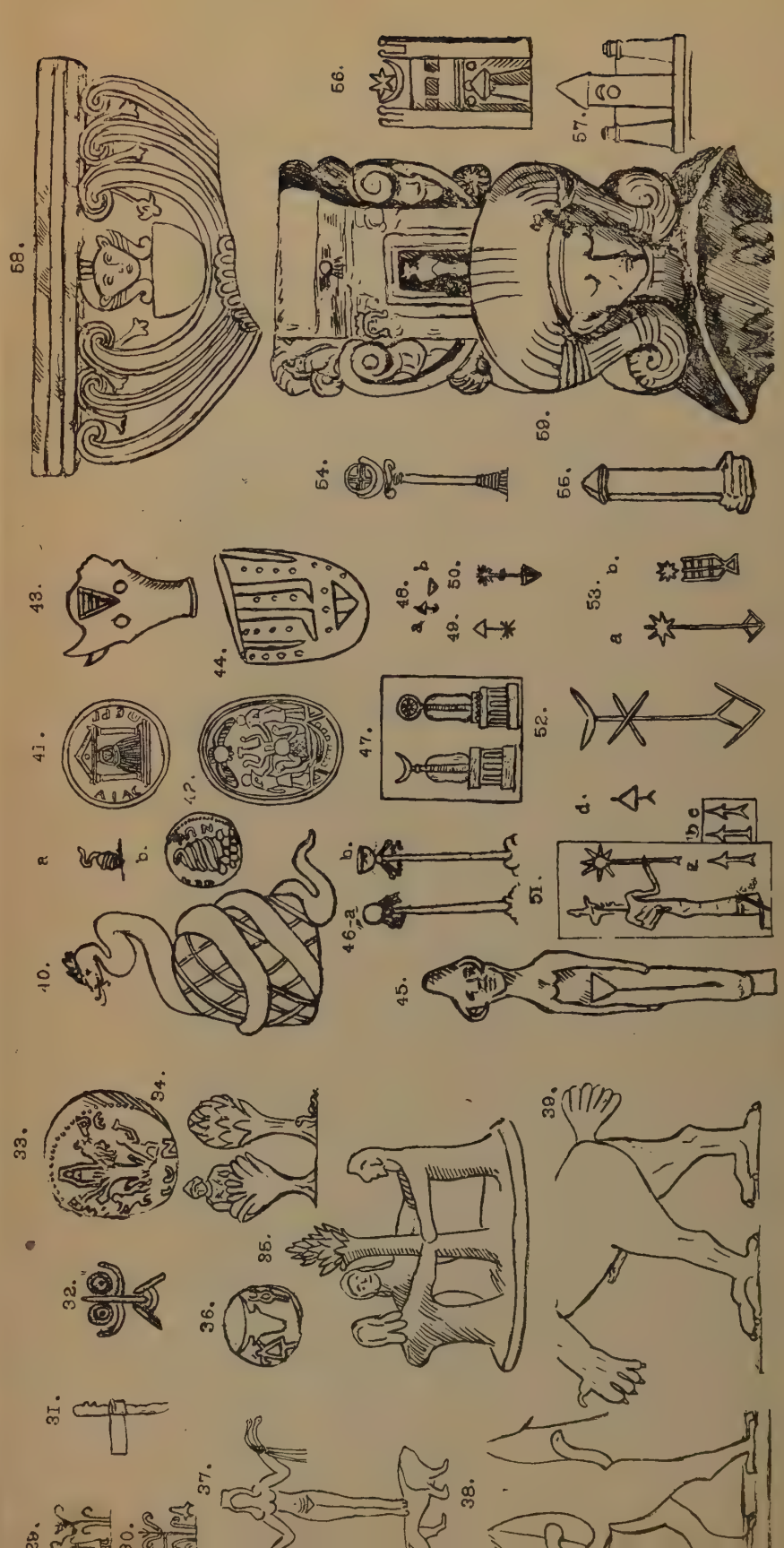
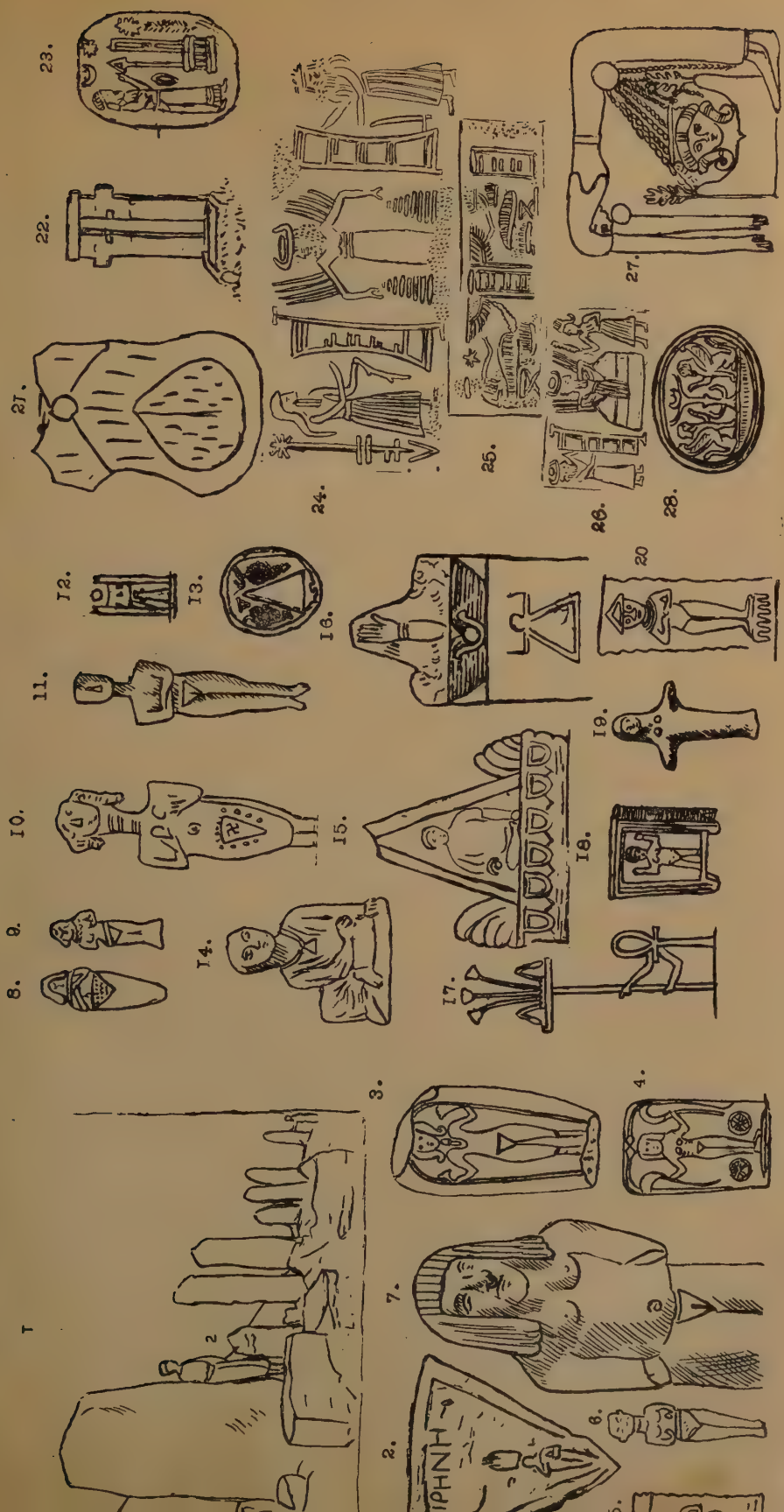
altar as partner of a standing pole, a representative of male deity which came at the end of a long process of evolution. He thinks that the origin of the standing stone is to be seen in the desire to appease the dead, such stone standing beside a grave and affording a habitat for the spirit of the deceased when it chose to return to its grave (Pillar—HDB). Prof. Barton's opinion that it originated as a symbol of the phallus, is undoubtedly the more correct.

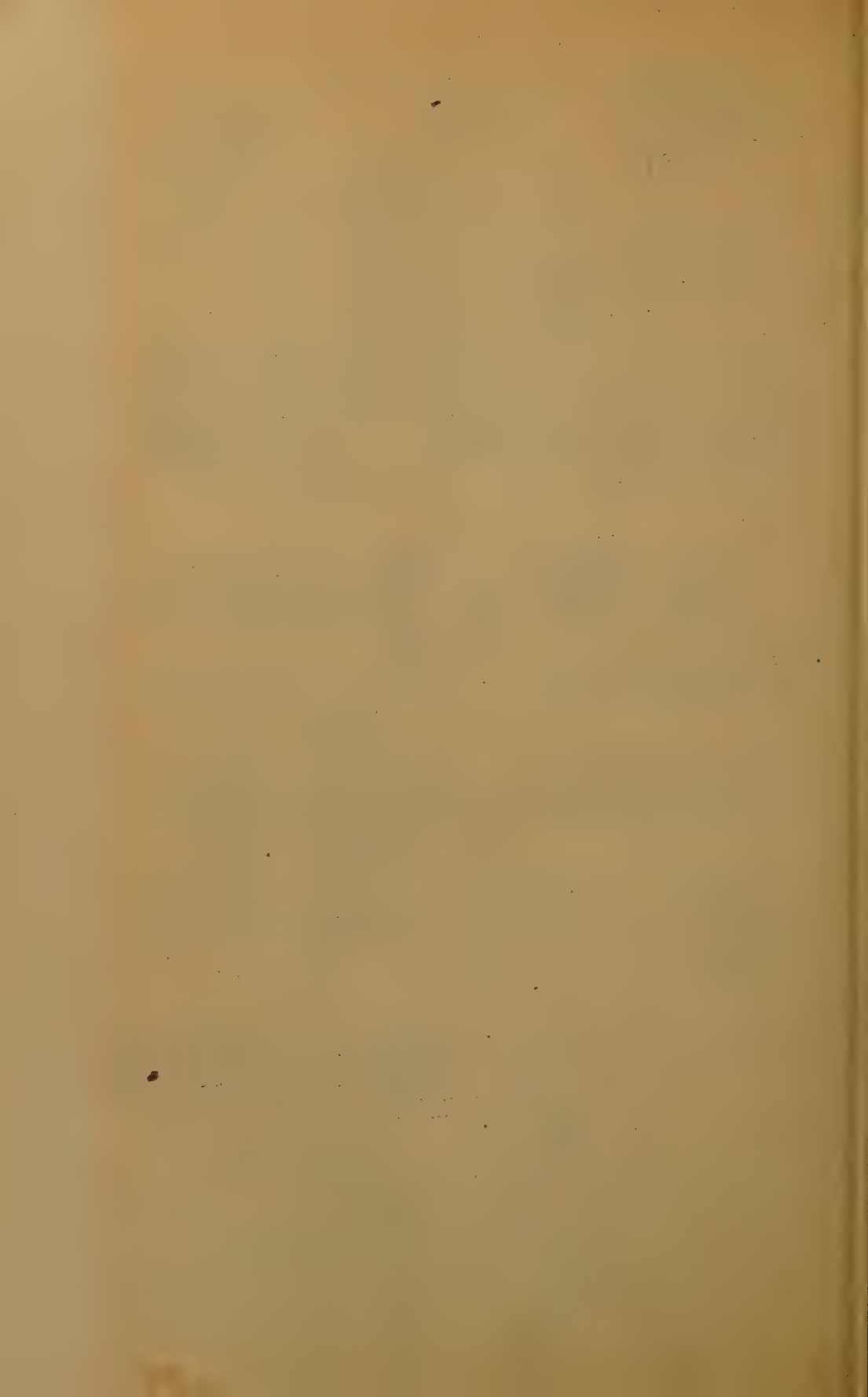
In fig. 90, we have a picture of an ancient Egyptian tomb showing the gods Ra and Ma'ah sitting on either side of an Osiris phallic column shaped exactly like a phallus. They hold towards it the Ankh, the emblem of life, indicating the resurrection of the deceased as signified in the erect phallus. Standing stones, therefore, when placed at the grave of the deceased were phallic emblems of the deity in the first instance, and secondarily of the deceased when a male. As placed by the grave of Rachel (Gen. 35. 20) it represented Yahweh, exactly as Jacob's pillar at Bethel.

In the phallic hand on figs. 84, 86, we see an explanation of one possible interpretation of Isa. 57. 8 "Thou didst see the hand," or "Thou hast beheld the phallic-hand" (Varium Ed; Delitzsch; Cheyne, l. c.). Or, as the margin of the RV gives it following the statement, "thou lovedst their bed," "thou providest room for it." An impossible interpretation, however, since the first is the literal rendering of the Hebrew. The reference is to the Assyrians with whom the daughters of Israel willingly and actually defiled themselves like the English women with the Danes recorded by the Chronicler Wallingford (History of Prostitution, p. 237. Sanger). Ezekiel was not idealizing in declaring, "she bestowed her whoredoms upon them, the choicest men of Assyria all of them and on whomsoever she doted. . . she defiled herself" (23. 7). We see in figs. 91, 92, taken from an ancient Cyprian bronze patera, practices of the Phoenicians and evidently Israelites engraved possibly about the time of Ezekiel. Here we see a festival of Adonis-Aphrodite. Our figures show a woman being carried by a man, and another on a couch, both illustrating the debauchery to which Ezekiel calls attention. They are but evidence, however, of that phallic worship which we see emphasized by Abraham as already stated, and to which the Israelites had given themselves, as affirmed by this prophet, from the beginning of their history until the exile



(ver. 8). From Isa. 17. 10, we gather that the women of Israel were actually practising the ritual of the Adonis gardens which we see depicted on another Cyprian patera (OR. I, 123, 125; Adonis—HBD). The Traditional School sees in Solomon's temple a structure dedicated with a high ethical conception of deity. On the contrary, it was modeled precisely on the pattern of a Phœnician or Babylonian temple, and every feature depicted a phase of idolatry. The two pillars, the table of shew bread, the brazen sea, these and many more of the details were matters entirely of pagan thought and belief (Sayce, *ib.*, pp. 197, 467; Israel; Shewbread; Brazen-Sea—HDB. One Vol.). Serpent worship, of which there are traces in I K. 1. 9, is clearly seen in the worship offered to the brazen serpent in the temple itself, and before which incense was burnt (2 K. 18. 3, 5). To the critical student of the OT the fact that Solomon is recorded as having introduced the worship of Ashtoreth, whom he worshipped in company with other divinities, is not surprising (I K. II. 5. f.). Indeed, the wonder is that there is no record of his having introduced an image of Asherah into the temple itself, as Maacah, Ahab, and Manasseh did later. The fact of the matter is that the supposed law against idolatry, which the Traditional school credits to Moses, had no existence until the closing decades of the 7th cent., since it was only between the period of Elijah and the so-called second Isaiah that the religion of Israel became ethical and spiritual" (Israel—Barton-HDB). Before that it was mainly based on phallic or nature worship. In fig. 93, we have a rude representation of an erect serpent on an altar which is in company with the Asherah altar of fig. 87, both representations being taken from a Babylonian boundary stone. Here it corresponds to the sun-pillar seen on other altars on Babylonian seal cylinders. Indeed, it more graphically exhibits their significance, the serpent being the living symbol of virility, a fact strikingly seen in figs. 38, 39. In fig. 94 we have a representation of the nature goddess of Crete, taken from Mosso's "Palaces of Crete," p. That we have here a snake goddess, Burrows shows beyond controversy (Discoveries in Crete, p. 138). This Cretan snake goddess, however, corresponds with the Egyptian snake goddess, Qatesch, of fig. 37. Moreover, she is distinctly a mother-goddess, corresponding with the great Paphian goddess of sexual love. From the snake in her hand we may see an explanation







of the snake associated with Eve in Eden. As I have shown in another issue of this journal (March, 1906), Crawley and Ellis are fully justified in seeing in this narrative (Gen. III) a sex story told in euphemistic language. A story in keeping with the phallic thought which runs so conspicuously throughout the whole of the OT, in which we find a complete history of the worship of the sign of the mother goddess, the female triangular pudendum.

## LITERATURE

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*The evolution of the world: or, science from a religious point of view*, by F. L. RAWSON. Garden City, Herts, Letchworth, Printers, Limited (1909). 244 p.

This imposing quarto in its first section discusses a concrete word picture, mysteries of our world, their solutions, natural law merely memoria technica, knowledge of God, evolution of the God sense, what is heaven? The second section treats a consistent theory of phenomenon, the reality of matter, the so-called evolution of the material world and its end. The third, of the human mind, its powers, dangers ahead, safe way to work, and divine power; the fourth treats philosophical theories, Christianity, inspiration; section five, mental effect, modern views, medical recognition, admitted ignorance, practical experience, divine healing, evolution of prayer; section six, the carnal mind at enmity against God; section seven, our duty, responsibility, free choice, work, learning to pray aright. There are also eleven appendixes.

*The religion of the spiritual evolution of man*. Anonymous. Chicago, E. A. Rogers, 1910. 105 p.

This work is generously dedicated "of necessity to all mankind." The veiled author tells us that his name would add nothing of weight but that for thirty years he has felt that science owed to humanity a "religious philosophy that would comprehend all ascertained truth and assert its rational relations to the infinite One." It is not presented as an original work but as one of assimilation, suggestion and construction, and so he discusses the reign of law, the infinite One, the divine plan, religion of spiritual evolution or of the future, necessity of united effort, primary organization, the individual and the family in spiritual evolution, immortality, and ends with meditations upon these subjects.

*L'Évolution des Dogmes*, by CHARLES GUIGNEBERT. Paris, Ernest Flammarion, 1910. 351 p. Bibliothèque de philosophie scientifique.

This is an ingenious suggestive treatise on revelation, inspiration, the books of the Canon, tradition, interpretation, the general life of dogma, its birth, obstacles, development, relations to life and faith, its authoritative formulization, the progress and the death of dogma. It is always a result of laborious collaboration, which to a certain stage is a rather exquisite expression, the consensus of culture surrounding ultimate organization.

*Christi Person und Werk nach der Lehre seiner Jünger*, von D. ALFRED SEEBERG. A. Deichert, Leipzig, 1910. 109 p.

The author first discusses the age and origin of the Apostolic writings and then the productions of post-apostolic times. He attempts in the third chapter to give a characterization of the personality and work of Jesus according to the Apostles.

*The shorter Bible*, being the authorized version of the Bible arranged and edited for the use of schools and for home reading. Edited by Arthur Burrell. J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., London, 1909. 664 p.

The only difference between this and the ordinary Bible is the omissions here. The narrative is from the Genesis to the rebuilding of the temple. The Poetical and Prophetical Books are represented by selections from the best known chapters, while a few extracts from the Old Testament Apocrypha are added. In the New Testament, the Gospel of Matthew is practically untouched, while Mark is omitted. The whole of the Acts are included, but the Epistles are represented by selections only. It is intended for home and for school use.

*The ethics of Jesus*, being the William Belden Noble lectures for 1909, by HENRY CHURCHILL KING. The Macmillan Co., New York, 1910. 293 p. (New Testament Handbooks, edited by Shailer Matthews.)

The author's method of approach involves a rather detailed survey of all the passages in the teachings of Jesus that can be recorded as clearly ethical and seeks to help to make more objective the results of the inquiry as well as to more completely insure that the teaching itself should be unfolded rather than simply talked about. The chapters are: the ethical teachings in Schmiedel's foundation pillar passages and in the doubly attested sayings; the ethical teachings in Mark and in the other common source of Matthew and Luke, regarded as the oldest; estimate of the ethical teachings in the sayings of Jesus peculiar to either Matthew or Luke; the Sermon on the Mount as a whole; Jesus' conception of the basic qualities of life; a study of the beatitudes; the great motives of life in the Sermon on the Mount.

*Church work with boys*, by WILLIAM BYRON FORBUSH. Boston, The Pilgrim Press, 1910. 105 p.

This book is designed for the reading of church workers and for study in classes by those who are preparing to be of service to the men of to-morrow. After telling what church work with boys means, the author discusses the way of God, with the boy, the principles of church work, the work of men for boys, how to teach a boys' Sunday School class and to conduct the church boys' club, with a concluding chapter on boys and the kingdom. At the end of each chapter is an outline for the study of the topic and suggestions for further reading and the work concludes with a valuable select reference list of books upon the nature and nurture of the individual boy.

*Die Programm der Religionspsychologie*, von R. WIELANDT. Tübingen, Mohr, 1910. 40 p.

The writer gives a brief review of the tendencies and a few of the recent works in this field, insisting that those who enter even the historical field must keep their eyes fixed upon religion itself, which is a radically different matter from either culture history, theology, textual criticism, ethics or religious philosophy. Religion is a more manifold and indeed more social thing than any of these theories imply.

*The Psychology of Religious Experience*, by EDWARD SCRIBNER AMES. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston, 1910. 428 p.

The author's point of view is "that of functional psychology which is necessarily genetic and social." His conception of religion is "the consciousness of the



highest social values." After two chapters on the history and methods of psychology of religion, the author discusses its origin in the race which he finds to be totem, taboo, ceremonials, magic, experience, sacrifice, prayer and mythology. Part third treats of the rise of religion in the individual, its relations to childhood, adolescence, normal development, conversions; while the fourth part treats of the place of religion in the experience of the individual and society, discusses its relations to the entire psychic life, to ideas, feelings, psychology of religious genius and inspiration, the religious sects, relations to democracy and science, and non-religious people.

*Jesus als Charakter*, von JOHANNES NINCK. Leipzig, J. C. Hinrich, 1910. 396 p.

This book claims to be a careful psychological analysis pointing toward a sharper conception of the personality of Jesus. He first answers the question what is character, and his book is divided into sections of about ten subdivisions each, which treat will, love, and obedience.

*Prolegomena to theism*. New York, Andrew H. Kellog Co., 1910. 70 p.

This anonymous book is a bundle of aphorisms on the subject, with no author or index or very special coherence or *raison d'être* that is obvious on the surface. Much is said about categories, the law of logical process and effect, ontology, submanence, essentia, essendi, definibilitas essendi, reals essendi, immanence the principal force of the soul, the effect-force of the soul, extramanence, etc. It is a general mesh of definitions.

*An adventure*, by ELIZABETH MORISON and FRANCES LAMONT. London, Macmillan & Co., 1911. 162 p.

The chapters are (1) three visits to the Petit Trianon; (2) the results of research; (3) answers to questions; (4) a *réverie*. This is an account of a very mystic experience of communion with the souls of those who formerly inhabited this old castle.

*The psychology of belief*, by JAMES LINDSAY. London, William Blackwood & Sons, 1910. 71 p.

Belief in its higher forms, we are told, is a movement of our being so central and fundamental that its issue is life. It influences activity in every sphere of individual being. It is a psychology and not a rhetoric which claims for faith or living belief every Marathon, every Thermopylæ, which holds Socrates, Columbus, Washington as having been inspired and sustained by faith, which regards the creative faculty of genius as finding its very life so much in belief that without this, there would be no Homer, Dante, etc.

*The truth we owe to youth*, by HENRY HAMILL. Freiburg, Barden, 1910. 91 p.

This little work consists of a series of directions regarding the training of sex for infancy, childhood, puberty, adolescence and maturity, these being the chapters. We cannot think the author has added anything of importance. He certainly does not seem to be familiar with the best of the recent literature upon the subject, although he mentions a few titles of standard works in his various appendices.

*The modern missionary challenge: a study of the present day world missionary enterprise, its problems and results*, by JOHN P. JONES. New York, Fleming H. Revell Company, 1910. 361 p.

The purpose of this book is to give a fresh and modern presentation of the missionary enterprise from the standpoint of the missionary, and so it furnishes a

discussion of the problem more with an eye to the mission field than to the home base. This fact constitutes both the strength and the weakness of the book. The following are the chief topics discussed; the subjective source of the challenge, new conditions and problems, methods and ideals, present day triumphs, affairs, agencies, magnitude of the task, future outlook.

*The science of ethics*, by MICHAEL CRONIN, D. D. New York, Benziger Brothers, 1909. 660 p. (Volume 1, General Ethics.)

The purpose of this work is to present to students "a full and accurate account of the ethical system of Aristotle and St. Thomas Aquinas." To this system the author gives his fullest assent and adherence, based on a conviction that has grown stronger with time. Ethics is defined as "the science of human conduct, as according with human reason and as directed by reason towards man's final natural end," or as "the science of moral good and evil in human acts." This perhaps will suffice to characterize the general standpoint of the book. It is a very learned and able treatise and will be welcomed by all students of ethics.

*Christ lore, being the legends, traditions, myths, symbols, customs and superstitions of the Christian church*, by FREDERICK WM. HACKWOOD. London, Elliot Stock, 1902. 290 p.

This work appeals rather to the general reader than to the archeologist or ethnologist. Its merit is its arrangement of the lore and legends in such relations as will put the material at the use of the reader. The matter is grouped around the Virgin Mary, the birth and childhood of Christ, incidents in his mission, teachings, passion, stations of the cross, the greater passion, the composition of the true cross, resurrection, ascension. There are many crude old cuts.

*History of ethics within organized Christianity*, by THOMAS CUMING HALL. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910. 605 p.

The author's main purpose in this study was to understand and help others understand the essential message of Our Lord, the simplicity of whose message has been obscured and overlaid by other elements. He taught that human nature could not change, and this the *Zeitgeist* doubts and so does the skeptic and agnostic. The author discusses the preparation for Christianity, the New Testament ethics, that of the early church, the old Catholic bishops church and its ethics, militant papacy and its ethics, scholasticism and its ethics, English reformation and its ethics, the continental reformation and its ethics, the merging of churchly with philosophical ethics. The author is more industrious as a historian than he is learned or even insightful as a philosopher. 'The summary chapter 9 is in our profound conviction just one of those chapters that never should be written. Many footnotes indicate learning and special study in this field, but in a score of pages the author covers a whole vast field and does so in the most superficial way. Academic theses occasionally show this same fault.

*The seekers*, by JESSIE E. SAMPTER. With an introduction by Josiah Royce. New York, Mitchell Kennerley, 1910. 302 p.

This book we are told, is a live book, lived first and written afterwards. Professor Royce writes an introduction which is quite commendatory of it. The author tells us her purpose in writing the book was twofold; to record how philosophical clubs and classes work in practice and thereby to suggest a method from experience and also give in a large way the main outlines of his thought from fifteen

years on. The members of the club, or *dramatis personæ*, are, besides the writer, four girls, fifteen and sixteen and a boy of fifteen. It is rather curious to see the movements of thought of these first philosophical stirrings of mind in these young people. The author very considerably gives an epitome at the end of the discussions. The meetings are devoted to great themes like evolution, matter and spirit, God and prayer, immortality, beauty, art, goodness, loyalty, social, religions, etc.

*The person and place of Jesus Christ.* The Congregational Union Lecture for 1909.

By P. T. FORSYTH. Philadelphia, The Westminster Press, 1910. 357 p.

These, the author wishes it understood, are lectures and not a treatise, and this is his excuse for certain repetitions. He treats of lay apostolic religions, and the religion of Jesus and the gospel of Christ, the greatness of Christ and the interpretations thereof, the testimony of his self-consciousness, was he a part of his own gospel? the testimony of apostolic inspiration in general and in part, the moralizing of dogma illustrated by God's missionaries and the absoluteness of Christ, the latter's pre-existence, his kenosis or self-emptying and his plerosis or self fulfillment.

*The Apocalypse unsealed*, being an esoteric interpretation of the initiation of Iōannēs commonly called the revelation of (St.) John, with a new translation by JAMES M. PRYSE. New York, James M. Pryse, 9-15 Murray St. 222 p.

The introduction contains four chapters, the key of the gnosis, the faith of power, the riddle of revelation, the drama of self-conquest, and the initiation of Iōannēs. The purpose of the work is to show that the Apocalypse is a manual of spiritual development and not, as is usually supposed, a cryptic history of prophecy. The author assures us that we shall find in his book a "complete solution of the Apocalypse engima" with ample proofs of the correctness of the solution. He finds it necessary to re-translate a good deal of the Apocalypse and his interpretation is certainly ingenious.

*God and man; Philosophy of the higher life*, by E. ELLSWORTH SHUMAKER. New York, Putnam, 1909. 408 p.

The writer treats of man as set into the universe or the physical sciences that enfold him, the enfolding human spheres, the wide ranging gamut of man's powers, the world all at work, what God and man are working toward, man as an expression of God and the partaker of His nature, the astounding riches of the higher life.

*Christianity and the modern mind*, by SAMUEL MCCOMB. New York, Dodd, Mead, 1910. 343 p.

This book is made up of five essays that have been printed elsewhere, to which as many more chapters are added. Sample topics are the intellect in religion, what we know about Jesus Christ, the Christian religion, miracles, suffering, the new belief in prayer, its difficulties and methods, immortality, science and human nature, reason in modern society, the new concept of missions.

*Church work with boys*, by WILLIAM BYRON FORBUSH. Boston, Pilgrim Press, 1910. 105 p.

This is really based on the author's well-known "Boy Problem" and deals with the special but important part of social work done for boys in churches, states



its significance, principles and methods. It is designed for reading church workers, treats of the work of men for boys, how to teach a boys' Sunday school class, conduct a club, boys' work and the kingdom, the ways of God with boys.

*The Gospel of the modern man*, by SHAILER MATHEWS. The Macmillan Co., New York, 1910. pp. 331.

The first chapter is the Gospel of the New Testament; then follow modern man, the content of the Gospel. In Part II, entitled the reasonableness of the Gospel, the author first treats Jesus, the Christ. Then follow chapters on the love of God, or law; the forgiveness of sin; the deliverance from death.

*La cure d'ame moderne et ses bases religieuses et scientifiques*, par CH. DURAND-PALLOT. Genève, Edition Atar, n. d. 405 p.

This book, which contains an introduction by Flournoy, first states the problem of mental healing, falsely so-called, and its renovations. The second part deals with the pathogeny of sin; the sin of habit, of disease, anger, nervous asthenias. The third part is entitled the war against sin, medical as contrasted with psychic treatment, and the intergrowth cure.

*The fundamentals. A testimony to the truth*. Chicago, Testimony Publishing Company, n. d. 126 p.

This is a series of essays by different authors on the Virgin birth of Christ, His deity, Purpose of the incarnation, Personality of the deity, and the Holy Spirit. Proof of the living God, History of the higher criticism and the personal testimony. It is representative of the reactions of the advanced clergy to modern problems raised by the higher criticism.

*The vision of the young man Menelaus; studies of Pentecost and Easter*, by the author of "Resurrectio Christi." London, Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1910. 210 p.

The author treats of the visions of men who are raised from the dead, the visions of young men, the double view of Pentecost, how the five hundred were brought to Jerusalem, the first, second, and third psychological question, were all the Christophanies subliminal? our theory in the light of St. Paul, the compressibility of events.

*The unexplored self, an introduction to Christian doctrine for teachers and students*. By GEORGE R. MONTGOMERY. New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1910. 249 p.

This work treats of the worth of man, the divinity of Christ, the witness to God, the mystery made manifest, Incarnation, the living Christ, self-giving, kinship and the cross, the first and great command, authority, communion of the Holy Spirit, doubt and shrinking back, faith and appraisal, the treasure and the self, religion, the grade of things precious, the re-born self, confidence in the ideal, the place of the church, men and women of to-morrow.

*Religion. First, Second and Third Book*. Washington, Catholic Education Press. 3 v. *Third Reader. Catholic Education Series*. 224 p.

This is a very interesting and original series edited by Professor Shields, one of the ablest and most accomplished of all Catholic editors. It is a judicious mixture of nature study, religion and everyday life, with music and art as represented by many colored pictures from the great masters occupying a prominent place. The third reader contains stories illustrating the great virtues from not only

ancient and religious but from modern secular life. We commend this interesting series to the careful scrutiny of every student of education.

*History of New Testament criticism*, by F. C. CONYBEARE. London, Watts & Co., 1910. 146 p.

This little book is confessedly sketchy and elementary. It may nevertheless serve the purpose of some readers as an introduction to the subject. It dwells perhaps rather too much upon the pioneers in the field. It also contains many cuts of leaders, from Lessing to Renan.

*Studies in Chinese religion*, by E. H. PARKER. London, Chapman & Hall, 1910. 308 p.

The writer first treats of the Chinese spiritual life, then of Taoism and its development, and passes then to Confucianism, Buddhism, Islam and Christianity in China. The work contains a number of interesting illustrations.

*Suggestions for a syllabus in religious teaching*, by G. B. AYRE. N. Y., Longmans, Green and Co., 1911. 147+28 p.

This is the product of years of study by one deeply interested and is addressed to those who teach both in home and school. The effort is to grade and correlate Scripture with general education and to avoid things that must be unlearned. The fatherhood of God, with which the book begins, is taught by showing his care for his children in warmth, food, clothing and the gift of Jesus, in the lives of the great heroes of the Old Testament, then comes incidents in the life of Christ; the fatherhood as revealed in earthly parenthood, the history of the chosen people, the life of Jesus according to Mark, the apostles, and the Bible generally.

*The new Schaff-Herzog encyclopedia of religious knowledge*. Edited by Samuel Macauley Jackson, with the assistance of Charles Colebrook Sherman, George William Gilmore and others. New York, Funk & Wagnalls, 1910. Vol. VIII, 500 p.

Volume VIII, which extends from morality to Petersen, seems to keep well up to the standard of the earlier volumes.

*The spiritual nature of man*, by STANTON COIT. The West London Ethical Society, The Ethical Church, Queen's Road, Bayswater, 1910. 112 p.

This work treats on reality of the mental life, the mystery of spirit communications, the power of the group spirit, spiritual environment as the origin of moral life.

*Le discernment du miracle ou le miracle et les quatre critiques*, par P. SAINTYVES. Paris, Nourry, 1909. 357 p.

Saintyves discusses the four points of view from which miracles are regarded, viz., the historical, b. the scientific, c. philosophical, d. theological.

*Letters from the teacher*. (Of the order of the 15.) Transmitted by Rahmea, priestess of the flame. Edited by J. Homer Curtiss, Secretary of the Order. Vol. 1. Pub. by the Curtiss Book Co., Denver, 1909. pp. 162.

*Jesus. Versuch einer anschaulichen Darstellung; seines Leben für den Schulgebrauch*. Von OSKAR PLADRA, Präparandenlehrer in Prenzlau. Leipzig, Dürr, 1910. 71 p.

*Dieu et Science. Essai de Psychologie des Sciences*, par ÉLIE DE CYON. Paris, Félix Alcan, 1910. 444 p.

After a general introduction describing our age as the evening twilight of metaphysics and the morning of natural philosophy, the author first discusses time and space, the geometric sense and the physiological basis of the geometry of Euclid, then the sense of arithmetic and number. The second part, headed body, mind and spirit, considers the physiological differentiation of psychic functions and aberrations. The third takes up evolution and transformation and considers the popularization of scientific questions, the greatness and decay of Darwinism, the struggle of science against the doctrines of Haeckel; while the fourth part considers God and man, religion, science, morals, and various other matters. The work is written as though everything were final and definite and the author held the key of the universe and allowed his readers to peep in here and there.

*The Development of Religion. A Study in Anthropology and Social Psychology*, by IRVING KING. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1910. 371 p.

This work considers first the possibility and scope of the psychology of religion; then deals with questions preliminary to the study of its evolution. Other chapters consider consciousness of value, the genesis of the religious attitude, origin of religious practices, the mysterious power, magic and religion, still further religious attitudes, origin and development of concepts of divine personages, problem of monotheism and the higher ethical conceptions of deity, religion and morals with special reference to the Australians, connection of religion with pathological experiences, religious valuation and supernaturalism.

*The Story of Paul of Tarsus*. Written from the outline prepared by LOUISE WARREN ATKINSON.

*Manual for Teachers*, by LOUISE WARREN ATKINSON. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1910. 194 p. (Constructive Bible Studies. Elementary Series.)

*Directions for Home Study*, by LOUISE WARREN ATKINSON. The University of Chicago Press, 1910. 76 p.

We have here a set of lesson papers, thirty-eight in number, on the life of Saint Paul. First comes the Manual for Teachers, with the story, his boyhood, student days, the great change in his life, and his four journeys. The small book is for pupils to prepare their lesson in at home. Then comes a set of lesson papers in blanks where the story is told with a great many omissions which the pupils are to fill in. Along with these go pictures to be used by the pupils, perhaps nearly one to a lesson. The whole together constitute a carefully elaborated scheme which ought to work well.

*Mental Medicine. Some practical suggestions from a spiritual standpoint*, by OLIVER HUCKEL. New York, T. Y. Crowell & Co., 1909. 219 p.

This is a series of conferences with students of the Johns Hopkins Medical School. The subject of the first conference is mental and spiritual factors in the problem of health, the new outlook for health, unique powers of the mind, spiritual mystery of the body. The second conference is on the therapeutic value of faith and prayer; the third on the possibilities of the control of the subconscious, the training of hidden energies; the fourth on the casting out of fear and worry and the control of the imagination; the fifth, the higher factors in the re-education of the nerves,



gospel of relaxation, inspirational method of outlook. These addresses were given under the auspices of the Y. M. C. A. in connection with the Phipps endowment of a million for the special equipment of students of mental disease. It is indeed significant that a clergyman should be invited to lecture under these auspices. Psychotherapy is here treated essentially as a matter of education and re-education. It is at any rate hoped that this course will aid clergymen and physicians to come into closer relations with each other and to understand one another better.

*The Christian Religion as a Healing Power. A Defense and Exposition of the Emmanuel Movement*, by ELWOOD WORCESTER and SAMUEL MCCOMB. New York, Moffat, Yard and Company, 1909. 130 p.

This book is supplemental to their former work entitled "Religion and Medicine." Much is said in answer to criticism, and the *raison d'être* of the movement is given again. It is defended from charges, contrasted with Christian Science, and the various objections, theological and psychological, are met. The work really contains very little that is new. The authors have apparently just heard of the psychoanalytic method and a hazy general statement about it occupies some few pages of this work.

*Faith and Health*, by CHARLES REYNOLDS BROWN. New York, Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., 1909. 234 p.

The chapters here treat of the healing miracles of Christ, modern faith cures, the pros and cons of Christian Science, healing power of suggestion, the Emmanuel movement, the gospel of good health, and the church and disease. This book is a very excellent epitome of the subject but contains, we believe, nothing new to those who have followed its rather surprising development within the last few years.

*The religion of the Chinese*, by J. M. DEGROOT. New York, The Macmillan Co., 1910. 230 p.

These lectures were delivered at the Hartford Theological Seminary under the Lamson Fund and were designed primarily to give students contemplating mission work in China a knowledge of the religious history, belief, customs, of those among whom they expect to labor. The lectures are given by scholars of the first rank in the field. This work treats the following subjects,—universalistic animism, polydemonism, the struggle against spectres, ancestral worship, Confucianism, Taoism, and two concluding lectures on Buddhism. The author has written a number of interesting works on this subject before. Lucid and interesting as the work is, we can but wish that he had given more attention to bibliography, at least to the extent of supplying the reader with footnote references to the more important topics which he treats.

*The right to Believe*, by ELEANOR HARRIS ROWLAND. Houghton, Mifflin Co. Boston, 1909. 202 p.

The chapters are as follows: The Necessity for Belief, Does God Exist? The Nature of God and Man, the Divinity of Christ, the Principle of Evil, and Prayers. The chief desire of the author apparently is to answer questions and silence doubts, a problem that is very practical to a teacher of girls in a conservative institution.

*The Child and His Religion*, by GEORGE E. DAWSON. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1909. 124 p.

Although the material for this book is largely drawn from magazine articles and addresses already given to the public, this book was well worth making. It is

the work of a serious and earnest student in this field who for a number of years has devoted himself to it with great diligence and success. The chapter heads are as follows: Interest as a Measure of Values; the Natural Religion of Childhood; Children's Interest in the Bible; the Problem of Religious Education.

*The Sunday Kindergarten—Game, Gift, and Story.* A manual for use in the Sunday School and in the Home, by CARRIE S. FERRIS. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1909. 271 p. (Constructive Bible Studies. Elementary Series.)

*Christ and the Eastern Soul*, by CHARLES CUTHBERT HALL. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1909. 208 p. (The Barrows Lectures 1906-1907.)

These Barrows lectures are dedicated to thoughtful Indians by a Westerner who believes in the unity of the human race and has high expectations of the India of the future.

*Selections from the Old Testament.* Edited with introduction and notes by Henry Nelson Snyder. Boston, Ginn & Company, 1911. 210 p.

These are designed to meet the recommendation of the Educational Conference uniform entrance requirements in England, February 12th, which recommended selections from the Old Testament containing at least the chief narrative episodes in Genesis, Exodus, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings and Daniel, together with the books of Ruth and Esther.

*In the hand of the potter*, by HAROLD BEGBIE. New York, Hodder and Stoughton, 1911. 288 p.

This book comprises about a dozen tales of remarkable change of heart or regeneration due to religious workers in London slums. The stories are told with no art and indeed are almost exasperatingly clumsy in their method of presentation, but they are still very effective. The author evidently, like other social workers, believes in radical regeneration.

*Angelus Silesius, a selection from the rhymes of German mystics.* Translated in the original meter by Paul Carus. Chicago, The Open Court Publishing Co., 1909. 174 p.

Dr. Carus has here translated a large number of brief poems, all of them in four or eight line verse, concerning the mysteries of God, eternity and time, God and His works, His creatures, ownhood, otherhood and Godhood imitation of Christ, sanctification, love and death.

*The new Schaff-Herzog encyclopedia of religious knowledge*, edited by Samuel Macauley Jackson, with the assistance of Charles Colebrook Sherman, and George William Gilmore. Vol. 9. Petri-Reuchlin. N. Y., Funk & Wagnalls, 1911. 500 p.

*The dweller on the threshold*, by ROBERT HICHENS. New York, The Century Company, 1911. 273 p.

*Fünfter Weltkongress für freies Christentum und Reliögisen Fortschritt. Protokoll der Verhandlungen*, hrsgb D. MAX FISCHER und D. FRIEDRICK MICHAEL SCHIELE. Beerlin, Verlag der Protestantischen Schriftenvertriebs. 1910. 349 p.

*The functions of the church in modern society*, by WILLIAM JEWETT TUCKER. Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1911. 110 p.

LIST OF PAPERS IN THE FIELD OF RELIGIOUS  
PSYCHOLOGY PRESENTED AT  
CLARK UNIVERSITY

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BY LOUIS N. WILSON

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The subject of religious psychology has, from the opening of the University in 1889, received a great deal of attention here. President Hall's view of psychology has been much influenced by the religious element and he has drawn about him a number of men, during the past twenty-two years, who have made distinct contributions to the subject.

With the opening of the Library Building in 1903 the Library department of Religious Psychology was very much strengthened and a special alcove set aside for its books and journals. Early in 1904 the Library also undertook the publication of a new journal, *The American Journal of Religious Psychology and Education*, edited by President Hall with the co-operation of Professors Théodore Flournoy, James H. Leuba, Edwin D. Starbuck, R. M. Wenley, and Jean Du Buy.

While the journal has not accomplished all that was hoped for, and while its issues have been somewhat irregular, it has made possible the publication of many articles written from a new point of view and not represented by any other journal.

With the issue of the first number of volume five, in October, the journal will take on a new face of type and a new and, it is hoped, a more attractive form.

There has been a great deal of unrest in religious matters throughout the world during the past fifty years. Men have broken away from the old religious forms and are demanding a reconstruction on scientific lines.

In Germany even, where religion has State sanction, there has been a decided change in the University attitude towards the Theological departments. The curriculum has been broadened and made far more scientific, so that more of the abler students are now attracted than have been for many



years past. In 1907 Dr. Joh. Bresler brought out the first issue of a new monthly journal—*Zeitschrift für Religionspsychologie*—which met with a cordial welcome at once. It is now in its fifth volume and Dr. Bresler has associated with him on its editorial board Dr. George Runze, Professor of Theology at the University of Berlin, and Dr. Otto Klemm, Docent in Psychology at the University of Leipzig.

In Great Britain there has been a corresponding revival of scientific interest in religious matters, evidenced by the establishment of *The Hibbert Journal* in 1902.

In France, where these matters have been brought very forcibly to the front by the separation of Church and State, after a close alliance of a hundred years, men are showing a renewed interest in religion based upon scientific investigation and research.

In our own country the field is a fascinating one and the promise for the years immediately ahead most encouraging. In 1908 the Divinity Faculty at Harvard University started the *Harvard Theological Review*, now in its fourth volume. Two years earlier the Religious Education Association of Chicago established *Religious Education*, a journal of a more popular character, but with a good list of contributors. Of course such journals cannot pay expenses and must for some years rely upon financial aid from some outside source.

The papers here listed do not include President Hall's many contributions on religious subjects to journals published outside the University nor to the many similar papers by Dr. Alexander F. Chamberlain which may be found in the pages of the *American Journal of Folk Lore* and in recent issues of *Harper's Magazine*.

They are divided into three groups;

- I. Theses presented for the degree of Master of Arts.  
These theses are not required to be printed but are deposited in the Library of the University. Wherever they have been printed the fact is stated.
- II. Theses presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.  
These must be printed, but a reasonable time is allowed the candidate for this purpose. The five papers not yet printed are nearly ready for publication and may be expected very soon.

- III. This group represents the papers—not degree theses—published in the journals issued at Clark University—*The American Journal of Psychology*; *The Pedagogical Seminary*; *The American Journal of Religious Psychology and Education*; *The Journal of Race Development*, and *The Proceedings of the Child Conference for Research and Welfare*. The majority of these articles have been contributed by those who have been or are connected with the University; where such is not the case the name of the author is marked with an asterisk.

## I

*Theses Presented for the degree of MASTER OF ARTS.*

1. BEESON, WILLIAM J. The child and his religious development.
2. BIVIN, GEORGE D. The phylogenetic significance of religious conversion.
3. BUTLER, HARRY J. Stations of the cross: their history and psychology.
4. CARROLL, CHARLES S. The catholic confessional: its history, doctrine and psychology.
5. CASHEN, GEORGE B. Jesuit missionaries in Japan: their history and psychology.
6. CONKLIN, EDMUND SMITH. Collegiate religious education.
7. DOWD, JOHN E. The sacrifice of the mass in the catholic church.
8. HAYNES, ROWLAND. Religious faith as an individual experience.
9. HELIE, EUCLID. The religious and moral aspects of stoicism.
10. KANDA, SAKYO. An examination of Buddha's atheism and non-atmanism.
11. MCNAMARA, FRANCIS P. A brief history of christian marriage and divorce.
12. MOYLE, HENRY B. Moral imbecility.
13. RUSSELL, JAMES A. The religious crisis in France: its history, causes and results.
14. ST. JOHN, EDWARD P. A genetic study of veracity. *Ped. Sem.*, June, 1908. Vol. 15, pp. 246-270.
15. SALMON, JOHN J. Saint invocation and religious memorials in the catholic church.
16. SPARKMAN, COLLYS F. Satan and his ancestors from a psychological standpoint.

## II

*Theses presented for the degree of DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY.*

17. ARNETT, LONNA D. The soul: a study of past and present beliefs. *Am. Jour. of Psy.*, April and July, 1904. Vol. 15, pp. 121-200; 347-382.

18. DANIELS, ARTHUR. The new life: a study of regeneration. *Am. Jour. of Psy.*, Oct., 1893. Vol. 6, pp. 61-106.
19. DAWSON, GEO. E. Psychic rudiments and morality. *Am. Jour. of Psy.*, Jan., 1900. Vol. 11, pp. 181-224.
20. COOLEY, HERBERT C. The religious education of children.
21. GODDARD, HENRY H. The effects of mind on body as evidenced by faith cures. *Am. Jour. of Psy.*, April, 1899. Vol. 10, pp. 431-502.
22. HARVEY, MCLEOD. The pedagogy of missions.
23. HASLETT, SAMUEL B. The pedagogical bible school. N. Y., F. H. Revell Co., 1903. 383 p.
24. HILL, DAVID SPENCE. The education and problems of the protestant ministry. *Am. Jour. of Rel. Psy. and Ed.*, Dec., 1906-June, 1907. Vol. 2, pp. 204-256; May, 1908. Vol. 3, pp. 29-70.
25. HITCHCOCK, ALBERT W. The psychology of Jesus. A study of the development of His self-consciousness. Boston, The Pilgrim Press, 1907. 279 p.
26. HYLAN, JOHN P. Public worship: a study in the psychology of religion. Chicago, Open Court Pub. Co., 1901. 94 p.
27. LEUBA, JAMES H. A study in the psychology of religious phenomena. *Am. Jour. of Psy.*, April, 1896. Vol. 7, pp. 309-385.
28. MAGNI, JOHN A. The ethnological background of the Eucharist. *Am. Jour. of Rel. Psy. and Ed.*, March, 1910. Vol. 4, pp. 1-47.
29. MOSES, JOSIAH. Pathological aspects of religion. Worcester, Mass., Clark Univ. Press, 1906. 264 p.
30. MYERS, GEORGE EDMUND. Moral training in the school; a comparative study. *Ped. Sem.*, Dec., 1906. Vol. 13, pp. 409-460.
31. ODUM, HOWARD W. Religious folk-songs of the southern negroes. *Am. Jour. of Rel. Psy. and Ed.*, July, 1909. Vol. 3, pp. 265-365.
32. SPIDLE, SIMEON. The belief in immortality.
33. STARBUCK, EDWIN D. Some aspects of religious growth. *Am. Jour. of Psy.*, Oct., 1897. Vol. 9, pp. 70-124.
34. STOUTEMYER, JOHN H. A comparative study of mission methods.
35. STREET, J. RICHARD. A genetic study of immortality. *Ped. Sem.*, Sept., 1899. Vol. 6, pp. 267-313.
36. WADDLE, CHARLES W. Miracles of healing. *Am. Jour. of Psy.*, April, 1909. Vol. 20, pp. 219-268.
37. WEAVER, EDWARD E. Psycho-therapeutic evangelism.
38. WILLCOX, INMAN I. The psychological aspect of the doctrines of sin and salvation. Oxford, N. Y., Times Pub. Co., 1910. 54 p.

### III

*Papers contributed to Journals published at Clark University.*

- 39.\* BARNES, EARL. Theological life of a California child. *Ped. Sem.*, Dec., 1893. Vol. 2, pp. 442-447.



- 40.\* BARTLETT, LUCY C. My inner life. *Am. Jour. of Rel. Psy. and Ed.*, Nov., 1908. Vol. 3, pp. 210-235.
- 41.\* BECK, FRANK O. Prayer: A study in its history and psychology. *Am. Jour. of Rel. Psy. and Ed.*, March, 1906. Vol. 2, pp. 107-121.
- 42.\* BRADNER, LESTER. The younger grades in the sunday school. *Ped. Sem.*, Dec., 1909. Vol. 16, pp. 563-565.
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